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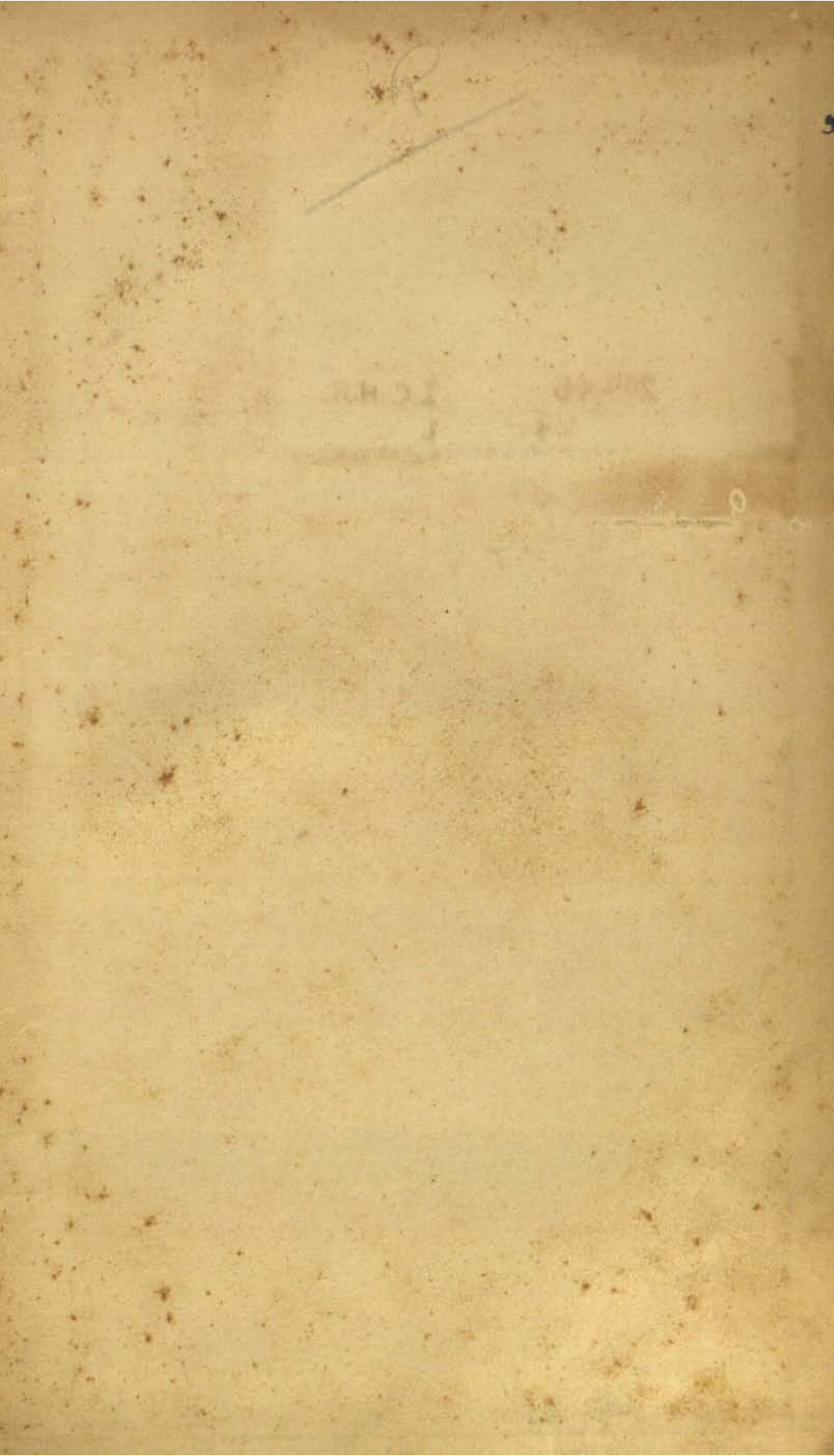
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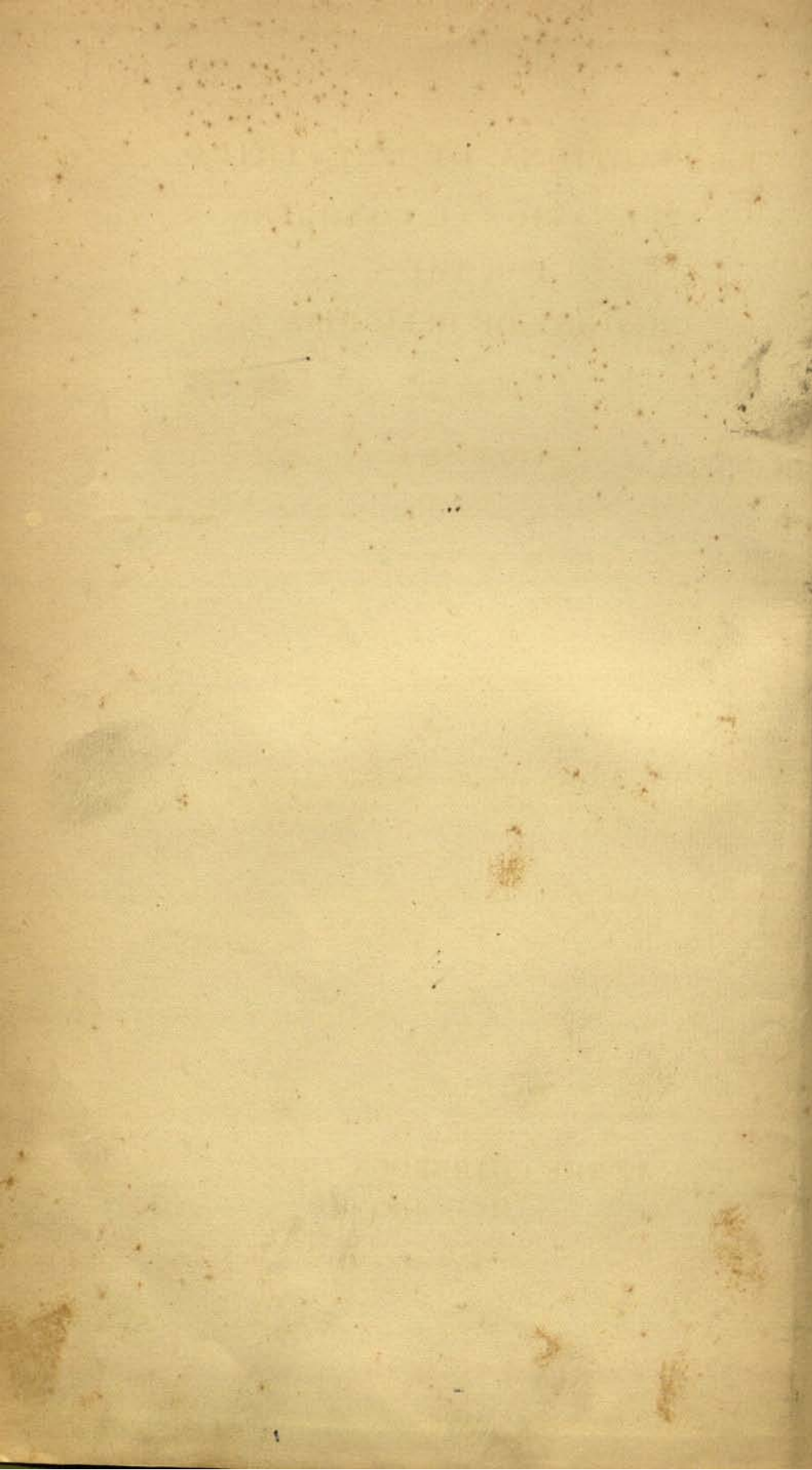
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TRANSACTIONS OF THE THIRD  
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS  
FOR THE  
HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

VOLUME I

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The spelling of proper names and other words is in almost all cases that of the authors, no attempt having been made to impose a uniform system upon contributors.

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# THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

The International Congress for the History of Religions was founded in Paris in 1900 under the Presidency of the late Prof. Albert Réville. Its Second Meeting was held in Basel in 1904, under the Presidency of Prof. Conrad C. von Orelli. The Third Congress was held at Oxford on Sept. 15-18, 1908. By the kindness of the Council of the University the Meetings took place in the Examination Schools.

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Merrill, Miss B. E., Scarritt Bible Training School, Kansas City,  
Missouri.  
Metteyya, Rev. B. A., 101 Elm Grove Road, Barnes.  
Meyer, Dr. R. M. and Frau, 16 Vossstr., Berlin.  
Milburn, Rev. R. G., Bishop's College, Calcutta.



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Millingen, Dr. A. van, Constantinople.  
Milne, Mr. and Mrs. J. G., Duncroft, Leatherhead.  
Minchin, Mrs., 149 Banbury Road, Oxford.  
Minchin, Rev. C. H., The Rectory, Woodstock.  
Mitchell, Rev. Joseph, The Manse, Mauchline, Ayrshire, N.B.  
Molony, Miss, 15 Ordnance Road, Southampton.  
Monseur, Prof. E., The University, Brussels.  
Montefiore, Mr. Claude G. and Mrs., Coldeast, Southampton.  
Montet, Prof. Edouard, The University, Geneva.  
Montgomery, Rev. W., 14 Brunswick Walk, Cambridge.  
Moor, Miss Ursula P., St. Clement's, Truro.  
Moret, Prof. A. and Mme., 22 Avenue Carnot, Paris.  
Moss, Miss Mary, U.S.A.  
Moulton, Rev. Prof. J. H., Didsbury College, Manchester.  
Mühleisen, Mr. W., c/o Miss Hooper, Crescent Lodge, Parktown, Oxford.  
Muller, Mr. E. B. Ivan, Chelsea Court, Chelsea.  
Müller, Mrs. Max, 7 Norham Gardens, Oxford.  
Murray, Miss M. A., University College, London.  
Myres, Prof. J. L., The University, Liverpool.  
Myres, Rev. M. W., 26 Leckford Road, Oxford.

Newberry, Prof. P. E. and Mrs., 36 Parkfield Road, Liverpool.  
Nicholson, Miss M., 21 Talgarth Road, West Kensington.  
Nicholson, Mr. and Mrs. R. A., 51 Bateman Street, Cambridge.  
Nordberg, Miss, 48 Wellington Square, Oxford.  
Nordhoff, Mrs. W.  
Norman, Prof. H. C., Queen's College, Benares.  
Nuttall, Mrs. Z., Berner's Hotel, Berner's Street, London.

Oakeley, Miss, 15 Launceston Place, Kensington.  
Odeh, Rev. and Mrs. N., 30 Holywell, Oxford.  
Odgers, Rev. Dr. J. E. and Mrs., 9 Marston Ferry Road, Oxford.  
Oertel, Mr. F. O., Benares.  
Oesterley, Rev. Dr. W. O. E., Glen Roy, Hatch End.  
Oldham, Mr. C. F., The Lodge, Great Bealings, Woodbridge.  
Oltramare, Prof. and Mme. Paul, Avenue de Bosquet, Geneva.  
Oman, Mr. J. Campbell, 38 Greenham Road, Muswell Hill, London.  
Omori, Mr. Z., Japan.  
Orelli, Prof. C. and Miss von, The University, Basel.  
Ormerod, Mr. Henry A., 25 Upper Wimpole Street, London.  
Osler, Prof. W., 13 Norham Gardens, Oxford.  
Oung, Mrs. M. H., 101 Elm Grove Road, Barnes.  
Owen, Mrs. A. A., Surbiton, Warwick Drive, Hale, Cheshire.  
Owen, Miss Mary A., 306 North Ninth Street, St. Joseph, Mo., U.S.A.



- Pargiter, Mr. F. E., 12 Charlbury Road, Oxford.  
Parsons, Rev. R. G., University College, Oxford.  
Peabody, Prof. F. G., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
Peach, Miss M., Langley, Cheltenham.  
Peake, Prof. A. S., Didsbury College, Manchester.  
Penny, Miss, 1 Holywell, Oxford.  
Penrose, Miss, Somerville College, Oxford.  
Percival, Mrs. Philip, Kidlington, near Oxford.  
Perreau, Mrs. J. C., 22 Clarence Parade, Southsea.  
Peto, Miss, 11 St. Cross Road, Oxford.  
Petrie, Prof. and Mrs. W. M. Flinders, University College, London.  
Pickard, Mrs., 5 Canterbury Road, Oxford.  
Pickard-Cambridge, Mr. and Mrs. A. W., St. Catherine's, Headington Hill, Oxford.  
Pierantony, Mme., Cartrev, South Park Road, Oxford.  
Pilcher, Mr. G. T., Treryn, Frith Hill, Godalming.  
Pinches, Dr. Theophilus and Mrs., 38 Blomfield Road, Maida Hill, London.  
Plumptree, Miss C. E., 36 Hamilton Terrace, London.  
Pochin, Miss, The Manor House, Wigston, Leicester.  
Pollock, Sir Frederick, 21 Hyde Park Place, London.  
Porter, Prof. F. C., Yale University, Newhaven, U.S.A.  
Porter, Rev. Prof. and Mrs. H., Syrian Protestant College, Beyrout.  
Poussin, Prof. de la Vallée, The University, Ghent.  
Poynter, Miss, 15 Park Terrace, Oxford.  
Preuss, Dr. K., 110 Schlossstr., Steglitz, Berlin.  
Probsthain, Mr. Arthur A., 41 Great Russell Street, London.  
Pullen-Burry, Miss, Lyceum Club, Piccadilly, London.
- Querner, Miss H., 40 Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool.
- Raby, Mr. J. P., 117 Woodstock Road, Oxford.  
Radiguet, Rev. Dr. J., St. Ursanne, Switzerland.  
Rae, Mrs. J., Glenelly, Chislehurst.  
Rahman, Mr. M. A., 138 Walton Street, Oxford.  
Raleigh, Sir Thomas, All Souls College, Oxford.  
Rashdall, Rev. Dr. and Mrs., 18 Long Wall Street, Oxford.  
Rauscher, Pfarrer, 30 Hegelstrasse, Stuttgart.  
Rawlence, Miss E., c/o Miss Bell, Old Headington.  
Reinach, M. Salomon, Paris.  
Reuterskiöld, Dr. Edgar, Upsala.  
Revon, Prof. Michel, Le Moutier d'Orgerus, Seine-et-Oise.  
Rhys, Prof. Sir John and Miss, Jesus College, Oxford.  
Ridding, Miss C. M., Cambridge.

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Ripon, Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, Ripon.  
Roe, Sir Charles, 1 Holywell, Oxford.  
Rogers, Miss, 26 Woodstock Road, Oxford.  
Rose, Miss, Edinburgh.  
Rosenberg, Miss Ethel, 2 Luxembourg Gardens, Brook Green, London.  
Ross, Mrs. Alex., 18 Upper Westbourne Terrace, London.  
Rost, Major E. R., 101 Elm Grove Road, Barnes.  
Rouse, Prof. W. H. D., Persse School, Cambridge.  
Routledge, Mr. and Mrs. W. S.  
Ruete, Mrs. R. Said, Combe Bank, near Sevenoaks.  
Russell, Hon. Mrs. B., Bagley Wood, Oxford.

Sanday, Rev. Prof. W., Christ Church, Oxford.  
Sands, Miss, Newington House, Wallingford.  
Saunders, Mr. T. Bailey, Fern Lodge, Milnthorpe Road, Eastbourne.  
Sayce, Rev. Prof. A. H., Queen's College, Oxford.  
Seatcherd, Miss, Rigmores House, Hastings.  
Schiller, Dr. F. C. S., Corpus Christi College, Oxford.  
Schmidt, Prof. Karl, The University, Berlin.  
Schmidt, Prof. Waldemar, National Museum, Copenhagen.  
Schuster, Mrs. Edgar, 110 Banbury Road, Oxford.  
Scott, Mr. Walter and Miss, 6 Lathbury Road, Oxford.  
Scullard, Rev. Dr. H. H., Cardington, Station Road, Hendon.  
Segal, Rev. M. H., 6 Tackley Place, Oxford.  
Selenka, Madame, 9<sup>11</sup> Leopoldstr., Munich.  
Seligmann, Dr. C. G. and Mrs., 15 York Terrace, Regent's Park, London.  
Sharpe, Miss E. M. C., Woodroffe, Portarlinton Road, Bournemouth.  
Sheavyn, Miss, Ashburn House, Victoria Park, Manchester.  
Shields, Mr. Cuthbert, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.  
Shrubsole, Mr. O. A., 40 Craven Road, Reading.  
Sidgwick, Mrs. A., 64 Woodstock Road, Oxford.  
Sieveking, Mr. A. Forbes, 12 Seymour Street, Portman Square, London.  
Simpson, Mrs. A., 14 Cadogan Street, Draycott Avenue, London.  
Sinclair, Miss.  
Skeat, Mr. W. W., Romeland Cottage, St. Albans.  
Skipwith, Mr. G. H., 21 Lenton Avenue, The Park, Nottingham.  
Skrine, Rev. J. H., 4 South Park Road, Oxford.  
Smith, Miss A. R., 26 Kildare Terrace, Westbourne Grove, London.  
Smith, Miss E. Toulmin, 1 The Terrace, Park Town, Oxford.  
Smith, Miss L. Toulmin, 1 The Terrace, Park Town, Oxford.  
Smith, Mr. L. Pearsall, Court Place, Ifley.  
Smith, Mr. Vincent A., Hazelwood, The Park, Cheltenham.  
Snow, Mr. T. C., St. John's College, Oxford.  
Söderblom, Prof. Dr. N., Upsala.



- Spencer, Rev. F. A. M. and Miss, 38 Beaumont Street, Oxford.  
Spencer, Miss Marianne, 8 Osberton Road, Oxford.  
Spilsbury, Rev. Dr. J. H. Gybbon, St. John's Parsonage, Stansted,  
Essex.  
Stable, Mr. Ernest R., 135 Divinity Road, Oxford.  
Stables, Mrs. Hervey, Mr. H. R. and Miss, Apsley Paddox, Summer-  
town, Oxford.  
Staehlin, Pfarrer W., Nuremberg.  
Stafforth, Rev. J., 16 White Lion Street, London.  
Stannard, Mrs. Jane, London.  
Stephens, Mr. H. C., Cholderton, near Salisbury.  
Stock, Mr. St. George, 16 Museum Road, Oxford.  
Streeter, Rev. B. H., Queen's College, Oxford.  
Strong, Mrs. S. A., 38 New Cavendish Street, London.  
Suzuki, Mr. D. T., Chicago.  
Swann, Miss, 141 Woodstock Road, Oxford.  
Symonds, Dr. H. P., 35 Beaumont Street, Oxford.  
  
Tao, Mr. Lui Ti, Chinese Legation, 49 Portland Place, London.  
Tappan, Miss, U.S.A.  
Teano, Prince of, Palazzo Castari, Rome.  
Teape, Rev. W. M., South Hylton Vicarage, Sunderland.  
Temple, Sir R. C., The Nash, Worcester.  
Temple, Mrs., 8 Keble Road, Oxford.  
Thackeray, Miss, The Orchard, Banbury Road, Oxford.  
Thatcher, Rev. G. W., Mansfield College, Oxford.  
Thibaut, Prof. G., Mrs., and Misses, Calcutta.  
Thirlwall, Miss B. K. C., The Grange, Timperley, Altrincham, Cheshire.  
Thomas Miss, 8 South Park Road, Oxford.  
Thomas, Rev. A. H., Penrhos, Elm Road, Leicester.  
Thompson, Miss S., Glenelly, Chislehurst.  
Thompson, Mr. Maurice S., Garthlands, Reigate Heath, Surrey.  
Tiddeman, Mrs. R. H., 175 Banbury Road, Oxford.  
Tims, Mr. and Mrs. H. W. Marett, King's College, Cambridge.  
Titius, Prof. and Frau, The University, Göttingen.  
Tomkinson, Miss, Franche Hall, Kidderminster.  
Toth, Mr. Lewis, Léva, Szepesi u. B., Hungary.  
Toutain, Prof. and Mme, 25 Rue du Four St. Germain, Paris.  
Toynbee, Mrs. A., 10 Norham Gardens, Oxford.  
Troup, Mr. James, 53 Abingdon Court, London.  
Tupper, Sir L., Crosswood House, Mottam Road, East Molesey.  
Tyau, Mr. P. K. C., 153 Highbury New Park, London.  
Tylor, Prof. and Mrs. E. B., Museum House, Oxford.  
Tyndale, Mrs., 8 Fyfield Road, Oxford.



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Vernon, Rev. Prof. A. W., Yale University, Newhaven, U.S.A.  
Vrooman, Mr. and Mrs. F. B., 1717 S. Street, Washington, U.S.A.

Wace, Mr. A. J. B., Calverton House, Stony Stratford.

Wacha, Mr. D. E., 84 Hornby Road, Bombay.

Wardale, Miss, 3 Norham Road, Oxford.

Warrilow, Mr. H. C. and Miss, 51 Banbury Road, Oxford.

Watson, Miss, Invermore, Oxford.

Watson, Rev. E. W., Christ Church, Oxford.

Webb, Mr. and Mrs. C. C. J., Holywell Ford, Oxford.

Weld, Miss A. G., 119 Iffley Road, Oxford.

Whinfield, Mr. E. H., St. Margaret's, Beulah Hill, Norwood, London.

Whitehouse, Rev. Dr. Owen C., Morley Lodge, Brooklands Avenue,  
Cambridge.

Whitmarsh, Mrs., 139 Woodstock Road, Oxford.

Whittuck, Rev. C. A., St. Mary's Hall, Oxford.

Whittuck, Mr. E. A., Claverton Manor, Bath.

Whitwell, Mr. and Mrs. R. J., 70 Banbury Road, Oxford.

Wickremasinghe, Don M. de Z., Indian Institute, Oxford.

Williams, Colonel O., 18 Lathbury Road, Oxford.

Wood, Rev. Fergus, The Vicarage, Caterham Valley.

Woods, Miss, 125 Victoria Street, Westminster.

Wordsworth, Miss, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

Worthington, Miss E. M., 20 Gayton Road, Hampstead.

Yoshimoto, Mr. Tadasu, Tokyo, Japan.

Young, Mr. G. W., 33 Beaumont Street, Oxford.

Zmigrodski, Dr. M. de, Sucha, bei Krakau, Galicia, Austria.

## RULES OF THE CONGRESS

I. The course of the Congress, with the selection of papers to be read, shall be regulated by the Executive Committee. The Committee shall also undertake financial arrangements.

II. On the opening of the Congress, the President of the Congress and the Presidents of Sections shall *ex officio* become members of the Executive Committee, but without pecuniary liability.

III. On each day of the Congress the Executive Committee shall meet at 1.0 P.M., in the Examination Schools, Room 13.

IV. In each Section there shall be a President, one or more Vice-Presidents, and a Secretary. The President shall arrange for chairmanship of sectional meetings with the Vice-Presidents. The Secretary shall keep minutes of meetings and secure the MS. or an abstract of all papers read.

V. Papers can be read or brought before the Congress only by Members.

VI. English, French, German, and Italian are the recognized languages of the Congress.

VII. After the reader of a paper has proceeded for thirty minutes, the Chairman shall interpose and ask him to complete the paper within five minutes.

VIII. Discussions shall be allowed at sectional meetings only. No one taking part in such discussions shall speak for more than five minutes.

IX. If any reader or speaker contravenes the fundamental rule of the Congress which excludes confessional and dogmatic discussions, the Chairman of the meeting shall promptly intervene.

X. The Addresses of Presidents of Sections shall be printed in full in the Transactions. Other papers shall be printed in abstract at a length not exceeding 2,000 words, except by special invitation of the Papers Sub-Committee.

XI. Papers by members who are prevented from being present by illness, or by absence from England, may be read at the discretion of the President of the Section, who shall have regard to the circumstances of each day's proceedings.



# PROGRAMME

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- Aft. Dr. K. TH. PREUSS (Berlin): 'Die Astralreligion in Mexiko in vorspanischer Zeit und in der Gegenwart' . . . p. 36  
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- Morn. Mr. R. R. MARETT (Oxford): 'The Conception of Mana' . . . p. 46  
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- Mr. T. C. HODSON (London): 'Funerary Customs and Eschatological Beliefs of the Assam Hill Tribes' . . . p. 58  
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- Aft. Prof. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE (London): Exhibition of Prayer-Tablets with Ears, from Memphis.
- Dr. C. G. SELIGMANN (London): 'The Vedda Cult of the Dead' . . . . . p. 59  
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- Morn. Principal F. B. JEVONS (Durham): 'Magic' . . . p. 71  
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- Miss L. ECKENSTEIN (London): 'Personal Amulets' . . . p. 79  
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- Aft. Mr. E. S. HARTLAND (Gloucester): 'Cult of Executed Criminals in Sicily' (Lantern Illustrations) . . . p. 83
- Miss PULLEN-BURRY (London): 'Data with regard to the Belief of some South Sea Savages' . . . p. 84
- Discussion by Messrs. Nutt and Hartland.
- Prof. Dr. A. TITIUS (Göttingen): 'Prof. Scheppig's Forschungen über die Naturvölker' . . . p. 85
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- Mr. A. C. HOLLIS (Mombasa): 'The Religion of the Nandi' p. 87
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- Morn. Rev. J. H. GYBBON SPILSBURY (London): 'Religious Beliefs of the Principal Native Tribes of South America' p. 91
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- Mr. W. W. SKEAT (Cambridge): 'Vestiges of Totemism in the Malay Peninsula' . . . p. 95
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- Miss MARY A. OWEN (St. Joseph): 'The Messiah Beliefs of the American Indians' . . . p. 101

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*President*, PROF. H. A. GILES. *Secretary*, LIC. H. HACKMANN

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- Morn. Mr. H. J. ALLEN (Leamington): 'The Connexion between Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism in early Days' p. 115
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- Aft. Prof. M. ANESAKI (Tokyo): 'Hōnen, the Pietist Saint of Japanese Buddhism' (read by Dr. Carpenter) . p. 122
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- Lic. H. HACKMANN (London): 'Pai Chang Ch'ing Kuei, the Rules of Buddhist Monastic Life in China' . . . . . p. 137  
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- Aft. Prof. Dr. J. J. M. de GROOT (Leiden): 'On the Origin of the Taoist Church' . . . . . p. 138  
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SECTION III. EGYPTIAN RELIGION

*President*, PROF. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. *Secretary*, MR. A. H. GARDINER

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- Morn. M. J. CAPART (Brussels): 'A propos des Statuettes de Meuniers' . . . . . p. 201  
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- Mr. ALAN H. GARDINER (London): 'Notes on Egyptian Magic' . . . . . p. 208  
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 Freiherr W. VON BISSING (Munich): 'Notes on some Paintings from Pompeii referring to the Cult of Isis' (read by Prof. Grenfell) . . . . . p. 225  
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SECTION IV. RELIGIONS OF THE SEMITES

*President*, PROF. MORRIS JASTROW, JUN. *Secretary*, REV. G. W. THATCHER

SEPTEMBER 15

- Morn. Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JUN. (Philadelphia): 'Hepatoscopy and Astrology in Ancient Babylonia' (not printed).  
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 Mr. G. H. SKIPWITH (Bordighera): 'The Genesis of Israel' (not printed).  
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- Aft. Dr. M. GASTER (London): 'Popular Judaism at the Time of the Second Temple in the Light of Samaritan Traditions' . . . . . p. 298  
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VOLUME II

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*President*, PROF. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. *Secretary*, PROF. A. A.  
MACDONELL

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- Aft. Dr. G. A. GRIERSON (Camberley): 'The Monotheistic Religion  
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- Mr. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH (London): 'The Vedic Mahāvrata' . . . . . p. 49  
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- Prof. CHARLES LANMAN (Harvard): 'Buddhaghosa and "the Way of Purity" (Visuddhi-Magga)' (not printed).
- Prof. Dr. H. JACOBI (Bonn): 'The Metaphysics and Ethics of the Jainas' . . . . . p. 59
- Discussion by Prof. Poussin.
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- Aft. (a) Prof. PAUL OLTRAMARE (Geneva): 'Psychologie Religieuse et Bouddhisme' . . . . . p. 67
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- (b) Dr. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY (Broad Campden): 'The Relations of Art and Religion in India' . . . . . p. 70
- Discussion by Messrs. Vincent Smith and P. Gardner.
- Mr. B. C. MAZUMDAR (Sambalpur): 'Two Problems relating to the History of Indian Religions' . . . . . p. 74
- Discussion by Messrs. Coomaraswamy and Jolly.
- Even. (General Meeting.) Prof. A. A. MACDONELL (Oxford): 'Buddhist Religious Art' . . . . . p. 74
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- (b) Rev. Prof. JAMES HOPE MOULTON (Manchester): 'Syncretism in Religion as illustrated in the History of Parsism' p. 89
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*President, PROF. SIR JOHN RHYS. Secretary, PROF. ANWYL*

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*President, PROF. SANDAY. Secretary, DR. BARTLETT*

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- Miss GERTRUDE LOWTHIAN BELL (Northallerton): 'Monasteries and Monasticism in Central Asia Minor' (Lantern Illustrations) . . . . . p. 334  
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- Dr. ROBERT EISLER (Feldafing): 'The Origins of the Eucharist' . . . . . p. 352  
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*President*, Count GOBLET D'ALVIELLA. *Secretary*, MR. C. C. J. WEBB

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- Morn. Prof. L. T. HOBHOUSE (London): 'Comparative Religion and  
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## FIRST GENERAL MEETING

THE Congress was opened with a General Meeting on the morning of September 15. After Professor P. Gardner, as Chairman of the Local Committee, had formally declared the Congress open, the PRO-VICE-CHANCELLOR (the Principal of Brasenose) said: 'On behalf of the University, I desire to offer a hearty welcome to the Congress. I am very sorry that the Vice-Chancellor is not able to be present to receive you, as I am sure he would have wished to be. To those who are members of the University no explanation of his absence is necessary; but perhaps I may say to those who do not know the University so well, that Dr. Warren is the hardest-worked man in the University, and it is quite necessary for him to take such little holiday as he can. That is the sole reason why he is not here to welcome you.

There are some special reasons why we welcome this Congress in Oxford. This is an age of congresses and conferences; and hardly a year passes now without some sort of congress, conference, or association meeting here. But I do not think we have ever had a congress so thoroughly international as this is, and that in itself is a reason why we should regard it with interest. There is, however, a reason of a more special kind. The importance of the subjects which this Congress has met to promote has long been recognized in Oxford. More than fifty years ago Jowett, in his famous book on certain Epistles of St. Paul, had an essay on natural religion, in which he pointed out the great value of the study of the religions of the world in many ways; and in particular, he said, that the scientific study of the Jewish and Christian religions was hardly possible, taken by themselves, that it must be taken in connexion with the histories of the other religions of the world. This is a statement which would be generally accepted nowadays, but it was a notable observation at the time it was made; and that Jowett kept it in his mind was evident, for later in his life he was engaged in writing, on the various religions of the world, an essay which unfortunately never came to completion. What Jowett foreshadowed and desired was carried out on a large scale by another Oxford man, Max Müller, who, in his writings on comparative religion, did



much to familiarize people with the importance of the subject ; but still more in his editions of sacred books, which he began exactly sixty years ago with his edition of the *Rig Veda*, and by the publication of the great series of the sacred books of the East, of which he was the editor, and to which he largely contributed. I hope we in Oxford may feel a legitimate pride in the fact that the University Press has issued fifty sacred books of the East, covering the religions of India, China, Persia, and the Semitic religions. It was fitting that when, twenty years ago, the Gifford lectures were founded, Max Müller was one of the first four lecturers appointed, one for each of the Scottish Universities.

Another of those four was an Oxford man, the Hon. President of this Congress, Dr. Tylor, who has represented the study of anthropology in Oxford for the last quarter of a century ; and to him is due the position which anthropology now occupies in the studies of the University. There is one other thing to which I would refer ; it is a happy coincidence that the year in which the Congress has met in Oxford has also seen the foundation of our first lectureship in natural and comparative religion, which we owe to the renewed generosity of Dr. Henry Wilde. We are glad to have among us the first lecturer in that subject, Dr. Farnell, who has taken a leading part in organizing this Congress.

I hope that you who are attending the Congress, many of you, perhaps, visiting Oxford for the first time, will carry away with you pleasant memories, not only of the papers and discussions and of the social intercourse which must form a large and profitable part of any such gathering, but also, so far as you will have the opportunity of seeing it, of Oxford itself.

A further welcome was given by Professor GARDNER, who said : ' In very kindly terms the Principal of Brasenose College has welcomed the members of the Congress on behalf of the University. It is my pleasant duty to add a few words of welcome on behalf of the local Committee.

I hope it will not be of evil omen if I begin by regretting the absence from our assembly of some whom we should have especially wished to see. Among these are some Oxford men, of whom the Principal has spoken : but I wish to mention one more name. Our valued and regretted friend, Professor Henry Pelham, was at first the President of the local Committee, and his death has been a great loss to us, as to so many causes and committees in Oxford. Among continental scholars, three whose

presence we were confidently expecting, M. Jean Réville of Paris, Professor Dieterich, and Professor Pfeiderer, have quite lately passed away. M. Réville in particular, as the prime mover in the institution of these Congresses, we deeply lament, nor can we hope altogether to fill his place. Other scholars who had intended to join us have been kept away by illness or by domestic troubles. But in spite of these sad lacunae, I feel that we to-day welcome many of the first authorities of Europe and America on the history of religion; and I know that there is prepared for us a rare intellectual treat in the numerous papers and addresses which will be brought before us.

As regards the organization of the Congress, our Committee has done its best, I think, with a single eye to the scientific value of the Congress and the satisfaction of the members. If in some respects our rules may seem somewhat hard and rigid, members must remember that decision was necessary, and that a few definite rules may be of great advantage in easing the course of our proceedings, and may further the general good.

May I say a few words as to the history of these Congresses, and their purpose, as we understand them? Their originator was, I believe, M. Jean Réville, whom to-day we so regretfully miss. At the Paris Exposition of 1900, there was quite a debauch of congresses on all possible subjects, from the greatest to the least. When I was present there at the first Congress of the History of Religions, two other congresses were proceeding, a feminist congress, and one on postage stamps; and it shows the inveterate smallness of the human mind that the last was the best attended of the three. There may, however, be something in the opinion that a congress with limited scope is more likely to prove of use than one which includes a vast field; and on this ground I think it not impossible that our smaller Congress may serve as useful a purpose as the larger Historical Congress held in August at Berlin. However that be, the Congress of the History of Religions held in Paris at the Exposition was successful, and has become the first of a series.

The second Congress was held at Basel in 1904, and was well attended. The Swiss city showed the members the kindest hospitality. At the concluding meeting, a wish was expressed that the next meeting should be held in Oxford; and I need not tell you that the wish has reached fruition. The Committee formed to receive you in Oxford welcomes you with friendliest regard.



If there is one thing in our days which tends to the bringing together of people of different nationalities, it is the spread of science. I am, of course, using the word science in its broader and more proper sense, as including the studies concerned with history and with man, as well as those concerned with nature. Science is rapidly becoming more international. Here there may be rivalry between nations, but there is no hostility; and there is no readier bond between men of different nations than the pursuit of similar studies. Sallust long ago said that the best foundation for friendship was to desire and to dislike the same things. We may add, that to study the same things in the same scientific spirit is an admirable basis for fellow-feeling.

As regards the particular subject of this Congress, I do not know the views of all my colleagues on the Committee. But I am sure that I express the opinions of others besides myself when I put matters thus:—Of all the subjects which can exercise the human mind, religion is the most important. And if this be the case, considering that in all religions there is a great historic element, the study of the history of religion outweighs in interest all other branches of history. The modern view of history is that it is not like a kaleidoscope of variously coloured elements, mingled without law and shifting without method, but it is an evolution. Every fact stands in close relation to other facts, both contemporary and preceding. All religions, however much they may differ in value, have certain features in common, and owe their power over mankind to the relations which they bear to some sides and faculties of the human spirit. We each have a country of our own, but we cannot understand its history apart from that of other countries. Most of us have a religion which we treasure; but we cannot fully understand it unless we have investigated other religions which in one point or another bear analogies to it. And it is the natural and logical sequel of the primary ideas of this Congress that the Committee have found it desirable to bring the sections together by instituting a new section of methodology, to deal more expressly with what is common to all religions, as the other sections deal with that which various religions have of their own. In so doing I think we have added a needed coping-stone to the construction, which now stands complete. The Committee invites all members of the Congress to enter it, to deposit what they have to give, and in return to select what each may find most suited to his tastes and his needs.'

Dr. CARPENTER then read the list of representatives delegated to attend the Congress :—

*Governments :*

France : M. Guimet, Paris.

Belgium : M. Jean Capart, Brussels.

Sweden : Profs. Karl Ferdinand Johansson and Nathan Söderblom, Upsala.

U.S.A. : Profs. Paul Haupt, Baltimore, and Morris Jastrow, Jun., Philadelphia.

China : Messrs. Ivan Chên and Lui Ti Tào.

Japan : Prof. M. Anesaki, Tokyo.

*Universities :*

Cambridge : Prof. J. G. Frazer.

Durham : Principal Dr. Jevons.

London : Lord Avebury.

Manchester : Profs. T. W. Rhys Davids and Hope W. Hogg.

Oxford : Rev. Prof. W. Sanday.

Sheffield : Vice-Chancellor Sir Charles Eliot.

Edinburgh : Rev. Prof. Paterson and Rev. Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy.

Glasgow : Rev. Prof. H. M. Beckwith Reid.

Wales : Prof. T. Witton Davies.

Basel : Profs. C. von Orelli and Dr. A. Bertholet.

Geneva : Prof. Paul Oltramare.

Göttingen : Prof. A. Titius.

Helsingfors : Prof. Yrjö Hirn.

Lyons : Profs. Loret and Virolleaud.

Montpellier : Prof. E. Babut.

Strassburg : Prof. E. von Dobschütz.

Upsala : Prof. N. Söderblom.

Columbia, New York : Dr. Richard Gottheil and Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson.

Yale : Profs. F. C. Porter and Ambrose W. Vernon.

Cape of Good Hope : Mr. Thomas Loveday.

Calcutta : Prof. G. Thibaut.

Madras : Dr. D. Duncan.

Sydney : Mr. H. E. Barff.

Tokyo, Japan : Prof. M. Anesaki.

*Academies :*

British Academy : Profs. F. C. Burkitt and T. W. Rhys Davids.

École des Hautes-Études : Profs. Alphandéry and Toutain.

Académie Royale, Brussels : Count Goblet d'Alviella and Prof. Franz Cumont.

Royal Bavarian Academy : Prof. Julius Jolly, Würzburg.

Syllogos of Constantinople : Dr. J. Gennadius.

American Academy : Prof. G. F. Moore.

Academy of Etschmiadzin : Dr. Erwand Ter-Minassiantz.

Syrian College of Beirût : Rev. Prof. Harvey Porter.

*Museum :*

Musée Guimet, Paris : Prof. Alexandre Moret.



On behalf of the Representatives of Foreign Governments,  
M. GUIMET replied :

‘ MESDAMES, MESSIEURS —

Vous venez d’entendre la brillante liste des délégués envoyés au Congrès par les Gouvernements étrangers, et vous devez vous demander, pourquoi ce n’est pas un de ces savants qui a été chargé de parler ce matin. Je crois que c’est justement leur valeur qui a causé l’embarras, il était difficile de créer une préséance entre les nations ; il était dangereux de faire naître des jalousies entre les savants, et l’on a eu recours à un amateur, à un dilettante en sciences, à un, comment dirai-je ? . . . un docteur ès-ignorance, qui n’a pas d’autres mérites que de vouloir s’instruire, d’aimer la science et de vouloir surtout instruire les autres.

C’est une belle science que vous cultivez, Messieurs ; elle est noble, elle est digne, elle est élevée et elle est aussi utilitaire.

Votre Président vient de vous le dire : “ les fondateurs de religions ont produit un effet immédiat sur leurs contemporains.” Ils ont pensé que la morale était l’art de rendre les gens heureux, et ils se sont préoccupés d’améliorer les mœurs et d’organiser la prospérité !

Lao-Tzen a voulu que le peuple trouvât les solutions. Il disait “ le bonheur est dans la perfection ” et l’homme en se faisant parfait, grâce à l’exemple et aux conseils, rend parfaits ceux qui l’entourent ; il les rend heureux.

Confucius était un organisateur, un professeur de gouvernement. “ Aime le prochain comme ton fils,” disait-il. Il organisa la famille, voulut que le respect fût une vertu. Il a donné à la Chine des siècles et des siècles de paix sociale et de richesse.

Sakia-Mouni prêchait la charité, l’amour de l’humanité et de toutes les créatures. Il était plein de mansuétude, et par sa douceur il a brisé les castes.

Jésus a libéré les esclaves, il nous a dit de nous aimer les uns les autres ; il s’est adressé aux humbles pour les exalter ; il a révolutionné le monde.

A côté des dogmes, au-dessous des transcendances mais plus près de nous, il y a le désir d’être utile et de faire le bien. Par conséquent, Messieurs, en étudiant le passé, vous préparez l’avenir.

C’est une heureuse pensée qu’a eu votre comité permanent de choisir Oxford pour y tenir nos assises scientifiques. Dans cette université l’on s’est de tout temps occupé des études religieuses. Il serait trop long de vous donner la liste des savants qui ont illustré ces recherches. C’est ici qu’on a publié *The*

*Sacred Books of the East*, c'est ici qu'a travaillé Max Müller avec Renan ; ils ont été les vulgarisateurs de la science des religions ; ils ont attiré les foules par un verbe impeccable, une littérature élégante, c'étaient des savants et des artistes.

Au nom des délégués envoyés ici par les Gouvernements étrangers je salue la ville d'Oxford, je salue l'Université d'Oxford, je salue les membres du Congrès, et je salue enfin les aimables organisateurs qui nous reçoivent avec tant de cordialité.'

Professor von Orelli also replied on behalf of the Representatives of Universities and Academies :

'The Universities and Academies which sent delegates to this Congress, wished to show what importance they attribute to the development of the History of Religion. This science, which was said to be a child yesterday, has grown a giant to-day and is increasing continually. Our systems and theories are overthrown every day by new researches and discoveries ; our ideas prove to be too narrow ; in our learned books and schools there are always some "*idola tribus*" and "*idola specus*", as Francis Bacon called them, of which we have to get rid. We have to learn from one another.

Thus it opened a joyful prospect when at the last Congress the British delegates showed some willingness to continue the series of these assemblies in their country ; and we were all delighted when we received your kind invitation to come to Oxford this year. I do not speak now about the wonderful charms of your city nor of the attractive power of British hospitality. What I wish to say is this : It seems to me that your nation was predestined long ago to take a leading part in this kind of studies—by the treasures of monuments and manuscripts which are in your possession, by your colonial relations and your great missionary work throughout the whole world, by the learning and sagacity of your scholars, and—last, but not least—by the wideness of the British mind and the power of its religious belief.

Certainly these interests are by no means new for you. When I came to Oxford for the first time as a young man many years ago, the late Max Müller talked to me in his study about these matters. He was a good Oxford man, but at the same time an international master and, I venture to say, one of the fathers of the comparative study of religion. The only thing I regret to-day is not to see in this assembly the happy face of Max Müller, who would have enjoyed this Congress more than any one.



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But I shall not take up your precious time by personal reminiscences. I have to deliver to this assembly special greetings from Basel, where the Congress met four years ago. In Switzerland, at our national feasts, we have a custom that the Federal banner is brought by the former committee from the place where the last feast was celebrated. Now we have no banner of silk to bring you. But we have a spiritual one, which has grown dear to us, as we passed, beneath its shadow, many hours both instructive and precious. This banner bears the inscription "International research into the history of religion" on one side, and on the other "Personal intercourse of lovers of religious inquiry".

We are happy to plant this banner to-day on this noble platform, this venerable stronghold of British learning. We confidently hope that this Oxford Congress will give a fresh impetus to our scientific work, and will encourage us all together to pay more attention to the sacred ties which unite humanity, and to study, with a new zeal the innumerable reflections of that light, which ever descends from heaven into this world of ours.'

The Honorary President, Professor E. B. TYLOR, then introduced the President, the Right Hon. Sir A. C. LYALL; who delivered his Presidential Address.

At a General Meeting held the same afternoon, the President read a telegram from THE CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY :

*To* SIR ALFRED LYALL, CONGRESS OF RELIGIONS, OXFORD

May I, as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, join in the welcome being given to the many distinguished persons assembled in your important Congress. I greatly regret that being confined to bed by an accident I am unable to take any practical part in reception. Wish you successful gathering.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

It was resolved to send the following reply :

*To* LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, BASINGSTOKE

I have read your kindly message before a General Meeting of the Congress. The members very highly appreciate the Chancellor's action in associating himself with welcome given to them by the University, and greatly regret the accident which has deprived them of the honour of your presence.

LYALL.

## PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR A. C. LYALL

It was only after much serious hesitation that I deferred to the wish of your Committee to confer upon me the honour of presiding over this Congress; for my doubts whether I am competent to undertake the duties of the office, are real and unfeigned. And, in considering the subject of my opening Address, I have been confronted by this difficulty—that in the Sections which regulate the order of our proceedings, we have a list of papers ranging over all the principal religions, ancient and modern, that have existed and still exist in the world. They are to be treated and discussed by experts whose scholarship, particular studies, and close research entitle them all to address you authoritatively. I have no such special qualifications; and in any case it would be most presumptuous in me to trespass upon their ground. All that I can venture to do, therefore, in the remarks which I propose to address to you to-day, is to attempt a brief general survey of the history of religions from a standpoint which may possibly not fall within the scope of these separate papers.

The four great religions now prevailing in the world, which are historical in the sense that they have been long known to history, I take to be—Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism. Having regard to their origin and derivation, to their history and character, I may be permitted, for my present purpose, to class the two former as the Religions of the West, and the two latter as the Religions of the East. These are the faiths which still maintain a mighty influence over the minds of mankind. And my object is to compare the political relations, the attitude, maintained toward them, from time to time, by the States and rulers of the people over which these religions have established their spiritual dominion.

There has evidently been a fore-time, though it is prehistorical, when, so far as we know, mankind was universally polytheistic,



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when innumerable rites and worships prevailed without restraint, springing up and contending with each other like the trees in a primeval forest, reflecting a primitive and precarious condition of human society. I take polytheism to have been, in this earliest stage, the wild growth of superstitious imagination, varied indefinitely by the pressure of circumstance, by accident, by popular caprice, or by the good or evil fortunes of the community. In this stage it can now be seen among barbarous tribes—as, for instance, in Central Africa. And some traces of it still survive, under different pretexts and disguises, in the lowest strata of civilized nations, where it may be said to represent the natural reluctance of the vagrant human fancy to be satisfied with higher forms and purer conceptions that are always imperfectly assimilated by the multitude.

Among primitive societies the spheres of human and divine affairs were intermixed and identical; they could not be disentangled. But with the growth of political institutions came gradual separation, or at any rate the subordination of religion to the practical necessities of orderly government and public morals. That polytheism can exist and flourish in the midst of a highly intellectual and civilized society, we know from the history of Greece and Rome. But in ancient Greece its direct influence upon political affairs seems to have been slight; though it touched at some points upon morality. The function of the State, according to Greek ideas, was to legislate for all the departments of human life and to uphold the moral standard. The law prohibited sacrilege and profanity; it punished open impiety that might bring down divine wrath upon the people at large. The philosophers taught rational ethics; they regarded the popular superstitions with indulgent contempt; but they inculcated the duty of honouring the gods, and the observance of public ceremonial. Beyond these limits the practice of local and customary worship was, I think, free and unrestrained; though I need hardly add that toleration, as understood by the States of antiquity, was a very different thing from the modern principle of religious neutrality. Under the Roman government the connexion between the State and religion was much closer, as the dominion of Rome expanded and its power became centralized. The Roman State maintained a strict control and superintendence over the official rituals and worships, which were regulated as a department of the administration, to bind the people together by established rites and worships, in order to cement political and social unity. It is true that the usages of the tribes and principalities that were conquered and annexed were left undisturbed; for the Roman policy, like that of the

English in India, was to avoid giving offence to religion; and undoubtedly this policy, in both instances, materially facilitated the rapid building up of a wide dominion. Nevertheless, there was a tendency to draw in the worship toward a common centre. The deities of the conquered provinces were respected and conciliated; the Roman generals even appealed to them for protection and favour, yet they became absorbed and assimilated under Roman names; they were often identified with the gods of the Roman pantheon, and frequently superseded by the victorious divinities of the new rulers—the strange deities, in fact, were Romanised as well as the foreign tribes and cities. After this manner the Roman empire, that greatest monument of human power, as Dean Church has called it, combined the tolerance of great religious diversity with the supremacy of a centralized government. Political amalgamation brought about a fusion of divine attributes; and latterly the emperor was adored as the symbol of manifest power, ruler and pontiff; he was the visible image of supreme authority.

This régime was easily accepted by the simple unsophisticated paganism of Europe. The Romans, with all their statecraft, had as yet no experience of a high religious temperature, of enthusiastic devotion and divine mysteries. But as their conquest and commerce spread eastward, the invasion of Asia let in upon Europe a flood of Oriental divinities, and thus Rome came into contact with much stronger and deeper spiritual forces. The European polytheism might be utilized and administered, the Asiatic deities could not be domesticated and subjected to regulation; the Oriental orgies and strange rites broke in upon the organized State worship; the new ideas and practices came backed by a profound and fervid spiritualism. Nevertheless, the Roman policy of bringing religion under authoritative control was more or less successful in the Asiatic provinces of the empire; the privileges of the temples were restricted; the priest-hoods were placed under the general superintendence of the pro-consular officials; and Roman divinities gradually found their way into the Asiatic pantheon.

But we all know that the religion of the Roman empire was falling into multitudinous confusion when Christianity arose—an austere exclusive faith, with its army of saints, ascetics, and unflinching martyrs, proclaiming worship to be due to one God only, and sternly refusing to acknowledge the divinity of the emperor. Against such a faith an incoherent disorderly polytheism could make no better stand than tribal levies against a disciplined army. The new religion struck directly at the sacrifices that symbolized imperial unity; the passive



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resistance of Christians was necessarily treated as rebellion, the State made implacable war upon them. Yet the spiritual and moral forces won the victory, and Christianity established itself throughout the empire. Universal religion, following upon universal civil dominion, completed the levelling of local and national distinctions. The Churches rapidly grew into authority superior to the State within their own jurisdiction; they called in the temporal government to enforce theological rulings and to put down heresies; they founded a powerful hierarchy. The earlier Roman constitution had made religion an instrument of administration. When one religion became universal, the Churches enlisted the civil ruler into the service of orthodoxy; they converted the State into an instrument for enforcing religion. The pagan empire had issued edicts against Christianity and had suppressed Christian assemblies as tainted with disaffection; the Christian emperors enacted laws against the rites and worships of paganism, and closed temples. It was by the supreme authority of Constantine that, for the first time in the religious history of the world, uniformity of belief was defined by a creed, and sanctioned by the ruler's assent.

Then came, in Western Europe, the time when the empire at Rome was rent asunder by the inrush of barbarians; but upon its ruins was erected the great Catholic Church of the Papacy, which preserved in the ecclesiastical domain the autocratic imperial tradition. The primacy of the Roman Church, according to Harnack, is essentially the transference to her of Rome's central position in the religions of the heathen world; the Church united the western races, disunited politically, under the common denomination of Christianity. Yet Christianity had not long established itself throughout all the lands, in Europe and Asia, which had once been under the Roman sovereignty, when the violent irruptions of Islam upset not only the temporal but also the spiritual dominion throughout Western Asia, and along the southern shores of the Mediterranean. The empire at Constantinople had been weakened by bitter theological dissensions and heresies among the Christians; the votaries of the new, simple, unswerving faith of Mohammed were ardent and unanimous. In Egypt and Syria they were speedily victorious; the Latin Church and even the Latin language were swept out of North Africa. In Persia the Sassanian dynasty was overthrown, and although there was no immediate and total conversion of the people, Mohammedanism superseded the ancient Zoroastrian cultus as the religion of the Persian State. It was not long before the armies of Islam had triumphed from the Atlantic coast to the Jaxartes river in Central

Asia; and conversion followed, speedily or slowly, as the direct result of conquest. Moreover, the Mohammedans invaded Europe, in the south-west they subdued almost all Spain; and in the south-east they destroyed, some centuries later, the Greek empire, though not the Greek Church, and consolidated a mighty rulership at Constantinople.

With this prolonged conflict between Islam and Christianity along the borderlands of Europe and Asia began the era of those religious wars that have darkened the history of the western nations, and have perpetuated the inveterate antipathy between Asiatic and European races, which the spread of Christianity into both continents had softened and might have healed. In the end Christianity has fixed itself permanently in Europe, while Islam is strongly established throughout half Asia. But the sharp collision between the two faiths, the clash of armies bearing the cross and the crescent, generated fierce fanaticism on both sides. The Crusades kindled a fiery militant and missionary spirit previously unknown to religions, whereby religious propagation became the mainspring and declared object of conquest and colonization. Finally, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the great secession from the Roman Church divided the nations of Western Europe into hostile camps, and throughout the long wars of that period political jealousies and ambitions were inflamed by religious animosities.

The history of Europe and Western Asia records, therefore, a close connexion and community of interests between the States and the orthodox faiths; a combination which has had a very potent influence, during many centuries, upon the course of civil affairs, upon the fortunes, or misfortunes, of nations. Up to the sixteenth century it was universally held, by Christianity and by Islam, that the State was bound to enforce orthodoxy; conversion and the suppression or expulsion of heretics were public duties. Unity of creed was thought necessary for national unity—a government could not undertake to maintain authority, or preserve the allegiance of its subjects, in a realm divided and distracted by sectarian controversies. On these principles Christianity and Islam were consolidated, in union with the States or in close alliance with them; and since the great religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the geographical boundaries of these two Faiths, and of their internal divisions respectively, have not materially changed.

Let me now turn to the history of religion in those countries of further Asia, which were never reached by Greek or Roman conquest



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or civilization, where the ancient forms of worship and conceptions of divinity, which existed before Christianity and Islam, still flourish. And here I shall only deal with the relations of the State to religion in India and China and their dependencies, because these vast and populous empires contain the two great religions, Hinduism and Buddhism, of purely Asiatic origin and character, which have assimilated to a large extent, and in a certain degree elevated, the indigenous polytheism, and which still exercise a mighty influence over the spiritual and moral condition of many millions.

We know what a tremendous power religion has been in the wars and politics of the West. I submit that in Eastern Asia, beyond the pale of Islam, the history of religion has been very different. Religious wars—I mean wars caused by the conflict of militant faiths contending for superiority, were, I believe, unknown on any great scale to the ancient civilizations everywhere. I think they were unknown in Eastern Asia, until Islam invaded India. It seems to me that the great religious movements and changes in that region have seldom or never been the consequence of, have not been materially affected by, wars, conquests, or political revolutions.

Throughout Europe and Mohammedan Asia the indigenous deities and their temples have disappeared centuries ago; they have been swept away by the forces of Church and State combined to exterminate them; they have all yielded to the lofty overruling ideal of monotheism. But the tide of Mohammedanism reached its limit in India; the people, though conquered, were but partly converted, and eastward of India there have been no important Mohammedan rulerships. On this side of Asia, therefore, two great religions, Buddhism and Brahmanism, have held their ground from times far anterior to Christianity; they have retained the elastic comprehensive character of polytheism, purified and elevated by higher conceptions, developed by the persistent competition of diverse ideas and forms among the people, unrestrained by attempts of superior organized faiths to obliterate the lower and weaker species. In that region political despotism has prevailed immemorially; religious despotism, in the sense of the legal establishment of one faith or worship to the exclusion of all others, of uniformity imposed by coercion, proselytism by persecution, is unknown to history: the governments have been absolute and personal; the religions have been popular and democratic. They have never been identified so closely with the ruling power as to share its fortunes, or to be used for the consolidation of successful conquest. Nor, on the other hand, has a ruler ever found it necessary, for the security of his throne, to conform to the



religion of his subjects, and to abjure all others. The political maxim, that the sovereign and his subjects should be of one and the same religion, has never prevailed in this part of the world. And although in India, the land of their common origin, Buddhism widely displaced and overlaid Brahmanism, while it was in its turn, after several centuries, overcome and ejected by a Brahmanic revival, yet I believe that history records no violent contests or collisions between them; nor do we know that the armed force of the State played any decisive part in these spiritual revolutions.

I do not maintain that Buddhism has owed nothing to State influence. It represents certain doctrines of the ancient Indian theosophy, incarnate, as one might say, in the figure of a spiritual Master, who was the type and example of ascetic quietism; it embodies the idea of salvation, or emancipation, attainable by man's own efforts, without aid from priests or divinities. Buddhism is the earliest, by many centuries, of the Faiths that claim descent from a personal founder, the Indian prince, Sakya Gotama. It emerges into authentic history with the empire of Asoka, who ruled over the greater part of India some 250 years before Christ, and its propagation over his realm and the countries adjacent is undoubtedly due to the influence, example, and authority of that devout monarch. According to Mr. Vincent Smith, from whose valuable work on the Early History of India I take the description of Asoka's religious policy, the king, renouncing after one necessary war all further military conquest, made it the business of his life to employ his autocratic power in directing the preaching and teaching of the Law of Piety, which he had learnt from his Buddhist priesthood. All his high officers were commanded to instruct the people in the way of salvation; he sent missions to foreign countries; he issued edicts promulgating ethical doctrines, and the rules of a devout life; he made pilgrimages to the sacred places; and finally he assumed the yellow robe of a Buddhist monk. Asoka elevated, so Mr. Smith has said, a sect of Hinduism to the rank of a world-religion. Nevertheless, I think it may be affirmed that the emperor consistently refrained from the forcible conversion of his subjects, and indeed the use of compulsion would have apparently been a breach of his own edicts, which insist on the principle of toleration, and declare the propagation of the Law of Piety to be his sole object. Asoka made no attempt to persecute Brahmanism, and it seems clear that the extraordinary success of Buddhism in India cannot be attributed to war or to conquest. To imperial influence and example much must be ascribed, yet I think Buddhism owed much more to its spiritual potency, to its superior faculty of transmuting



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and assimilating, instead of abolishing, the elementary instincts and worships, endowing them with a higher significance, attracting and stimulating devotion by impressive rites and ceremonies, impressing upon the people the dogma of the soul's transmigration and its escape from the miseries of sentient existence by the operation of merits. And of all religions it is the least political, for the practice of asceticism and quietism, of monastic seclusion from the working world, is necessarily adverse to any active connexion with mundane affairs.

I do not know that the mysterious disappearance of Buddhism from India can be accounted for by any great political revolution, like that which brought Islam into India. It seems to have vanished before the Mohammedans had gained any footing in the country. Meanwhile Buddhism is said to have penetrated into the Chinese empire by the first century of the Christian era. Before that time the doctrines of Confucius and Laotze were the dominant philosophies; rather moral than religious, though ancestral worship and the propitiation of spirits were not disallowed, and were to a certain extent enjoined. Laotze, the apostle of Taoism, appears to have preached a kind of Stoicism—the observance of the order of Nature in searching for the right way of salvation, the abhorrence of vicious sensuality, and the cultivation of humility, self-sacrifice, and simplicity of life. He condemned altogether the use of force in the sphere of religion or morality; though he admitted that it might be necessary for the purposes of civil government. The system of Confucius inculcated justice, benevolence, self-control, obedience and loyalty to the sovereign—all the civic virtues; it was a moral code without a metaphysical background; the popular worships were tolerated, reverence for ancestors conduced to edification; the gods were to be honoured, though it was well to keep aloof from them, he disliked religious fervour, and of things beyond experience he had nothing to say.

Buddhism, with its contempt for temporal affairs, treating life as a mere burden, and the soul's liberation from existence as the end and object of meditative devotion, must have imported a new and disturbing element into the utilitarian philosophies of ancient China. For many centuries Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism are said to have contended for the patronage and recognition of the Chinese emperors. Buddhism was alternately persecuted and protected, expelled and restored by imperial decree. Priesthoods and monastic orders are institutions of which governments are naturally jealous; the monasteries were destroyed or rebuilt, sacerdotal orders and celibacy suppressed or encouraged by imperial decrees, according

to views and prepossessions of successive dynasties or emperors. Nevertheless, the general policy of Chinese rulers and ministers seems not to have varied essentially. Their administrative principle was that religion must be prevented from interfering with affairs of State, that abuses and superstitious extravagances are not so much offences against orthodoxy as matters for the police, and as such must be put down by the secular arm.

Upon this policy successive dynasties appear to have acted continuously up to the present day in China, where the relations of the State to religion are, I think, without parallel elsewhere in the modern world. One may find some resemblance to the attitude of the Roman emperors towards rites and worships among the population in the Chinese emperor's reverent observance and regulation of the rites and ceremonies performed by him as the religious chief and representative before Heaven of the great national interests. The deification of deceased emperors is a solemn rite ordained by proclamation. As the *Ius sacrum*, the body of rights and duties in the matter of religion, was regarded in Rome as a department of the *Ius publicum*, belonging to the fundamental constitution of the State, so in China the ritual code is incorporated into the statute books, and promulgated with imperial sanction. Now we know that in Rome the established ritual was legally prescribed, though otherwise strange deities and their worships were admitted indiscriminately. But the Chinese government goes much further. It appears to regard all novel superstitions, and especially foreign worships, as the hotbed of sedition and disloyalty. Unlicensed deities and sects are put down by the police; magicians and sorcerers are arrested; and the peculiar Chinese practice of canonizing deceased officials and paying sacrificial honours to local celebrities after death is strictly reserved by the Board of Ceremonies for imperial consideration and approval. The Censor, to whom any proposal of this kind must be entrusted, is admonished that he must satisfy himself by inquiry of its validity. An official who performs sacred rites in honour of a spirit or holy personage not recognized by the Ritual Code, is liable to corporal punishment; and the adoration by private families of spirits whose worship is reserved for public ceremonial is a heinous offence. No such rigorous control over the multiplication of rites and deities has been instituted elsewhere. On the other hand, while in other countries the State has recognized no more than one established religion, the Chinese government formally recognizes three denominations. Buddhism has been sanctioned by various edicts and endowments, yet the State



divinities belong to the Taoist pantheon, and their worship is regulated by public ordinances; while Confucianism represents official orthodoxy, and its precepts embody the latitudinarian spirit of the intellectual classes. We know that the Chinese people make use, so to speak, of all three religions indiscriminately, according to their individual whims, needs, or experience of results. So also a politic administration countenances these divisions and probably finds some interest in maintaining them. The morality of the people requires some religious sanction; and it is this element with which the State professes its chief concern. One of the functions of high officials is to deliver public lectures freely criticizing and discouraging indolent monasticism and idolatry from the standpoint of rational ethics, as follies that are reluctantly tolerated. Yet the government has never been able to keep down the fanatics, mystics, and heretical sects that are incessantly springing up in China, as elsewhere in Asia; though they are treated as pestilent rebels and law-breakers, to be exterminated by massacre and cruel punishments; and bloody repression of this kind has been the cause of serious insurrections. It is to be observed that all religious persecution is by the direct action of the State, not instigated or insisted upon by a powerful orthodox priesthood. But a despotic administration which undertakes to control and circumscribe all forms and manifestations of superstition in a vast polytheistic multitude of its subjects, is inevitably driven to repressive measures of the utmost severity. Neither Christianity nor Islam attempted to regulate polytheism, their mission was to exterminate it, and they succeeded mainly because in those countries the State was acting with the support and under the uncompromising pressure of a dominant church or faith.

Some writers have noticed a certain degree of resemblance between the policy of the Roman empire and that of the Chinese empire toward religion. We may read in Gibbon that the Roman magistrates regarded the various modes of worship as equally useful, that sages and heroes were exalted to immortality and entitled to reverence and adoration, and that philosophic officials, viewing with indulgence the superstitions of the multitude, diligently practised the ceremonies of their fathers. So far, indeed, his description of the attitude of the State toward polytheism may be applicable to China; but although the Roman and the Chinese emperors both assumed the rank of divinity, and were supreme in the department of worships, the Roman administration never attempted to regulate and restrain polytheism at large on the Chinese system.

The religion of the gentiles, said Hobbes, is a part of their



policy; and it may be said that this is still the policy of Oriental monarchies, who admit no separation between the secular and the ecclesiastic jurisdiction. They would agree with Hobbes that temporal and spiritual government are but two words brought into the world to make men see double and mistake their lawful sovereign. But while in Mohammedan Asia the State upholds orthodox uniformity, in China and Japan the mainspring of all administrative action is political expediency. It may be suggested that in the mind of these far-Eastern people religion has never been conceived as something quite apart from human experience and the affairs of the visible world; for Buddhism, with its metaphysical doctrines, is a foreign importation, corrupted and materialized in China and Japan. And we may observe that from among the Mongolian races, which have produced mighty conquerors and founded famous dynasties from Constantinople to Peking, no mighty prophet, no profound spiritual teacher, has arisen. Yet in China, as throughout all the countries of the Asiatic mainland, an enthusiast may still gather together ardent proselytes, and fresh revelations may create among the people unrest that may ferment and become heated up to the degree of fanaticism, which may explode against attempts made to suppress it. The Taiping insurrection, which devastated cities and provinces in China, and nearly overthrew the Manchu dynasty, is a striking example of the volcanic fires that underlie the surface of Asiatic societies. It was quenched in torrents of blood after lasting some ten years. And very recently there has been a determined revolt of the Lamas in Eastern Tibet, which the imperial troops crushed with unrelenting severity. These are the perilous experiences of a philosophic government that assumes charge and control over the religions of some 300 millions of Asiatics.

I can only make a hasty reference to Japan. In that country the relations of the State to religions appear to have followed the Chinese model. Buddhism, Confucianism, Shintoism, are impartially recognized. The emperor presides over official worship as high priest of his people, the liturgical ordinances are issued by imperial rescripts not differing in form from other public edicts. The dominant article of faith is the divinity of Japan and its emperor; and Shinto, the worship of the gods of nature, is understood to be patronized chiefly with the motive of preserving the national traditions. But in Japan the advance of modern science and enlightened scepticism may have diminished the importance of the religious department. Shinto, says a recent writer, still embodies the religion of the people; yet in 1877 a decree was issued declaring



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it to be no more than a convenient system of State ceremonial. And in 1889 an article of the constitution granted freedom of belief and worship to all Japanese subjects, without prejudice to peace, order, and loyalty.

In India the religious situation is quite different. I think it is without parallel elsewhere in the world. Here we are at the fountain-head of metaphysical theology, of ideas that have flowed eastward and westward across Asia. And here, also, we find every species of primitive polytheism, unlimited and multitudinous; we can survey a confused medley of divinities, of rites and worships incessantly varied by popular whim and fancy, by accidents, and by the pressure of changing circumstances. Hinduism permits any doctrine to be taught, any sort of theory to be held regarding the divine attributes and manifestations, the forces of nature, or the functions of mind or body. Its tenets have never been circumscribed by a creed; its free play has never been checked or regulated by State authority.

Now, at first sight, this is not unlike the popular polytheism of the ancient world, before the triumph of Christianity. There are passages in St. Augustine's *Civitas Dei*, describing the worship of the unconverted pagans among whom he lived, that might have been written yesterday by a Christian bishop in India. And we might ask why all this paganism was not swept out from among such a highly intellectual people as the Indians, with their restless pursuit of divine knowledge, by some superior faith, by some central idea. Undoubtedly the material and moral conditions, and the course of events which combine to stamp a particular form of religion upon any great people, are complex and manifold; but into this inquiry I cannot go. I can only point out that the institution of caste has riveted down Hindu society into innumerable divisions upon a general religious basis, and that the sacred books separated the Hindu theologians into different schools, preventing uniformity of worship or of creed. And it is to be observed that these books are not historical; they give no account of the rise and spread of a faith. The Hindu theologian would say, in the words of an early Christian father, that the objects of divine knowledge are not historical, that they can only be apprehended intellectually, that within experience there is no reality. And the fact that Brahmanism has no authentic inspired narrative, that it is the only great religion not concentrated round the life and teachings of a person, may be one reason why it has remained diffuse and incoherent. All ways of salvation are still open to the Hindus; the canon of their scripture has never been authoritatively closed. New doctrines, new sects, fresh



theological controversies, are incessantly modifying and superseding the old scholastic interpretations of the mysteries, for Hindus, like Asiatics everywhere, are still in that condition of mind when a fresh spiritual message is eagerly received. Vishnu and Siva are the realistic abstractions of the understanding from objects of sense, from observation of the destructive and reproductive operations of nature; they represent among educated men separate systems of worship, which, again, are parted into different schools or theories regarding the proper ways and methods of attaining to spiritual emancipation. Yet the higher philosophy and the lower polytheism are not mutually antagonistic; on the contrary, they support each other; for Brahmanism accepts and allies itself with the popular forms of idolatry, treating them as outward visible signs of an inner truth, as indications of all-pervading pantheism. The peasant and the philosopher reverence the same deity, perform the same rite; they do not mean the same thing, but they do not quarrel on this account. Nevertheless, it is certainly remarkable that this inorganic medley of ideas and worships should have resisted for so many ages the invasion and influence of the coherent faiths that have won ascendancy, complete or predominant, on either side of India, the west and the east; it has thrown off Buddhism, it has withstood the triumphant advance of Islam, it has as yet been little affected by Christianity. Probably the political history of India may account in some degree for its religious disorganization. I may propound the theory that no religion has obtained supremacy, or at any rate definite establishment, in any great country except with the active co-operation, by force or favour, of the rulers, whether by conquest, as in Western Asia, or by patronage and protection, as in China. The direct influence and recognition of the State has been an indispensable instrument of religious consolidation. But until the nineteenth century the whole of India, from the mountains to the sea, had never been united under one stable government; the country was for ages parcelled out into separate principalities, incessantly contending for territory. And even the Moghul empire, which was always at war upon its frontiers, never acquired universal dominion. The Moghul emperors, except Aurungzeb, were by no means bigoted Mohammedans; and their obvious interest was to abstain from meddling with Hinduism. Yet the irruption of Islam into India seems rather to have stimulated religious activity among the Hindus, for during the Mohammedan period various spiritual teachers arose, new sects were formed, and theological controversies divided the intellectual classes. To these movements the Mohammedan govern-



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ments must have been for a long time indifferent; and among the new sects the principle of mutual toleration was universal. Towards the close of the Moghul empire, however, Hinduism, provoked by the bigotry of the emperor Aurungzeb, became a serious element of political disturbance. Attempts to suppress forcibly the followers of Nanak Guru, and the execution of the spiritual leader of the Sikhs, turned the Sikhs from inoffensive quietists into fanatical warriors; and by the eighteenth century they were in open revolt against the empire. They were, I think, the most formidable embodiment of militant Hinduism known to Indian history. By this time, also, the Marathas in South-West India were declaring themselves the champions of the Hindu religion against Mohammedan oppression, and to the Sikhs and Marathas the dislocation of the Moghul empire may be very largely attributed. We have here a notable example of the dynamic power upon politics of revolts that are generated by religious fermentation; and a proof of the strength that can be exerted by a pacific inorganic polytheism in self-defence, when ambitious rebels proclaim themselves defenders of a faith. The Marathas and the Sikhs founded the only rulerships whose armies could give the English serious trouble in the field during the nineteenth century.

On the whole, however, when we survey the history of India, and compare it with that of Western Asia, we may say that although the Hindus are perhaps the most intensely religious people in the world, Hinduism has never been, like Christianity, Islam, and to some extent Buddhism, a religion established by the State. Nor has it suffered much from the State's power. It seems strange, indeed, that Mohammedanism, a compact proselytizing faith, closely united with the civil rulership, should have so slightly modified, during seven centuries of dominion, this infinitely divided polytheism. Of course Mohammedanism made many converts, and annexed a considerable number of the population—yet the effect was rather to stiffen than to loose the bonds that held the mass of the people to their traditional divinities, and to the institution of castes. Moreover, the antagonism of the two religions, the popular and the dynastic, was a perpetual element of weakness in a Mohammedan empire. In India polytheism could not be crushed, as in Western Asia, by Islam; neither could it be controlled and administered, as in Eastern Asia; yet the Moghul emperors managed to keep on good terms with it, so long as they adhered to a policy of toleration.

To the Mohammedan empire has succeeded another foreign dominion, which practised not merely tolerance, but complete religious neutrality. Looking back over the period of 100 years, from 1757 to



1857, during which the British dominion was gradually extended over India, we find that the British empire, like the Roman, met with little or no opposition from religion. Hindus and Mohammedans, divided against each other, were equally willing to form alliances with, and to fight on the side of, the foreigner who kept religion entirely outside politics. And the British government, when established, has so carefully avoided offence to caste or creed that on one great occasion only, the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, have the smouldering fires of credulous fanaticism broken out against our rule.

I believe the British-Indian position of complete religious neutrality to be unique among Asiatic governments, and almost unknown in Europe. The Anglo-Indian sovereignty does not identify itself with the interests of a single faith, as in Mohammedan kingdoms, nor does it recognize a definite ecclesiastical jurisdiction in things spiritual, as in Catholic Europe. Still less has our government adopted the Chinese system of placing the State at the head of different rituals for the purpose of controlling them all, and proclaiming an ethical code to be binding on all denominations. The British ruler, while avowedly Christian, ignores all religions administratively, interfering only to suppress barbarous or indecent practices when the advance of civilization has rendered them obsolete. Public instruction, so far as the State is concerned, is entirely secular; the universal law is the only authorized guardian of morals; to expound moral duties officially, as things apart from religion, has been found possible in China, but not in India. But the Chinese government can issue edicts enjoining public morality and rationalism because the State takes part in the authorized worship of the people, and the emperor assumes pontifical office. The British government in India, on the other hand, disowns official connexion with any religion. It places all its measures on the sole ground of reasonable expediency, of efficient administration; it seeks to promote industry and commerce, and material civilization generally; it carefully avoids giving any religious colour whatever to its public acts; and the result is that our government, notwithstanding its sincere professions of absolute neutrality, is sometimes suspected of regarding all religion with cynical indifference, possibly even with hostility.

Moreover, religious neutrality, though it is right, just, and the only policy which the English in India could possibly adopt, has certain political disadvantages. The two most potent influences which still unite and divide the Asiatic peoples, are race and religion; a government which represents both these forces, as, for instance, in Afghanistan, has deep roots in a country. A dynasty that can rely on



the support of an organized religion, and stands forth as the champion of a dominant faith, has a powerful political power at its command. The Turkish empire, weak, ill-governed, repeatedly threatened with dismemberment, embarrassed internally by the conflict of races, has been preserved for the last hundred years by its incorporation with the faith of Islam, by the Sultan's claim to the Caliphate. To attack it is to assault a religious citadel; it is the bulwark on the west of Mohammedan Asia, as Afghanistan is the frontier fortress of Islam on the east. A leading Turkish politician has very recently said: 'It is in Islam pure and simple that lies the strength of Turkey as an independent State; and if the Sultan's position as religious chief were encroached upon by constitutional reforms, the whole Ottoman empire would be in danger.' We have to remember that for ages religious enthusiasm has been, and still is in some parts of Asia, one of the strongest incentives to military ardour and fidelity to a standard on the battle-field. Identity of creed has often proved more effective, in war, than territorial patriotism; it has surmounted racial and tribal antipathies; while religious antagonism is still in many countries a standing impediment to political consolidation.

When, therefore, we survey the history of religions, though this sketch is necessarily very imperfect and inadequate, we find Mohammedanism still identified with the fortunes of Mohammedan rulers; and we know that for many centuries the relations of Christianity to European States has been very close. In Europe the conflicting ardour and intellectual superiority of great theologians, of ecclesiastical statesmen supported by autocratic rulers, have hardened and beat out into form doctrines and liturgies that it was at one time criminal to disregard or deny, dogmatic articles of faith that were enforced by law. By these processes orthodoxy emerged compact, sharply defined, irresistible, out of the strife and confusion of heresies; the early record of the Churches has pages spotted with tears and stained with blood. But at the present time the European States seem inclined to dissolve their alliance with the Churches, and to arrange a kind of judicial separation between the altar and the throne, though in very few cases has a divorce been made absolute. No State, in civilized countries, assists in the propagation of doctrine; and ecclesiastical influence is of very little service to a government. The civil law, indeed, makes continual encroachments on the ecclesiastical domain, questions its authority, and usurps its jurisdiction. Modern erudition criticizes the historical authenticity of the scriptures, philosophy tries to undermine the foundations of belief; the governments find no interest in propping up edifices that are shaken by



internal controversies. In Mohammedan Asia, on the other hand, the connexion between the orthodox faith and the States is firmly maintained, for the solidarity is so close that disruptions would be dangerous, and a Mohammedan rulership over a majority of unbelievers would still be perilously unstable.

From this condition of things I have endeavoured to show that the historical relations of Buddhism and Hinduism to the State have been in the past, and are still in the present time, very different. There has always existed, I submit, one essential distinction of principle. Religious propagation, forcible conversion, aided and abetted by the executive power of the State, and by laws against heresy or dissent, have been defended in the west by the doctors of Islam, and formerly by Christian theologians, by the axiom that all means are justifiable for extirpating false teachers who draw souls to perdition. The right and duty of the civil magistrate to maintain truth, in regard to which Bossuet declared all Christians to be unanimous, and which is still affirmed in the Litany of our Church, is a principle from which no government, three centuries ago, dissented in theory, though in practice it was necessary to handle it cautiously. I do not think that this principle ever found its way into Hinduism or Buddhism ; I doubt, that is to say, whether the civil government was at any time called in to assist propagation of those religions as part of its duty. Nor do I know that the States of Eastern Asia, beyond the pale of Islam, claim or exercise the right of insisting on certain doctrines, because they are true. The erratic manifestations of the religious spirit throughout Asia, constantly breaking out in various forms and figures, in thaumaturgy, mystical inspiration, in orgies and secret societies, have always disquieted Asiatic States, yet, so far as I can ascertain, the employment of force to repress them has always been justified on administrative or political grounds, as distinguishable from theological motives pure and simple. Sceptics and agnostics have been particularly marked out for persecution in the west, but I do not think that they have been molested in India, China, or Japan, where they abound, because they seldom meddle with politics. It may perhaps be admitted, however, that a government which undertakes to regulate impartially all rites and worship among its subjects is at a disadvantage by comparison with a government that acts as the representative of a great church or an exclusive faith. It bears the sole undivided responsibility for measures of repression ; it cannot allege divine command or even the obligation of punishing impiety for the public good.

To conclude. In Asiatic States the superintendence of religious



affairs is an integral attribute of the sovereignty, which no government, except the English in India, has yet ventured to relinquish ; and even in India this is not done without some risk, for religion and politics are still intermingled throughout the world ; they act and react upon each other elsewhere. They are still far from being disentangled in our own country, where the theory that a government in its collective character must profess and even propagate some religion has not been very long obsolete. It was maintained seventy years ago by a great statesman who was already rising into prominence, by Mr. Gladstone. The text of Mr. Gladstone's argument, in his book on the relations of the State with the Church, was Hooker's saying, that the religious duty of kings is the weightiest part of their sovereignty ; while Macaulay, in criticizing this position, insisted that the main, if not the only, duty of a government, to which all other objects must be subordinate, was the protection of persons and property. These two eminent politicians were, in fact, the champions of the ancient and the modern ideas of sovereignty, for the theory that a State is bound to propagate the religion that it professes was for many centuries the accepted theory of all Christian and Mohammedan rulerships, though I think this theory now survives only in Mohammedan kingdoms.

As the influence of religion in the sphere of politics declines, the State becomes naturally less concerned with the superintendence of religion ; and the tendency of constitutional governments seems to be towards abandoning it. The States that have completely dissolved connexion with ecclesiastical institutions are the two great republics, the United States of America, and France. We can even discern at this moment a movement toward constitutional reforms in Mohammedan Asia, and if it succeeds it will be most interesting to observe the effect which liberal reforms will produce upon the relation of Mohammedan governments with the dominant faith, and on which side the religious teachers will be arrayed. It is certain, however, that for a long time to come religion will continue to be a potent factor in Asiatic politics ; and I may add that the reconciliation of civil with religious liberty is one of the most arduous of the many problems that confront civilized dominion in Asia.

**SECTION I**  
**RELIGIONS OF THE LOWER CULTURE**





## PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

By E. S. HARTLAND

IN no field of knowledge has scientific research made greater progress during the past half-century than in anthropology. And among all the subdivisions of anthropology none is more fascinating, or has yielded more important results, than the examination and comparison of the religions of the lower culture. The chapters on Mythology and Animism in *Primitive Culture*, published thirty-six years ago, were the first serious and well-grounded attempt to analyse what was then known about the ideas of mankind in early stages of civilization. The publication of that work gave an impetus to research that has never slackened. But with all the knowledge since accumulated, and the various debates to which it has given rise, nothing has yet been discovered to invalidate Professor Tylor's method; nor, though some details have been questioned, have his general conclusions been shaken. This is emphatic testimony to the learning and judgement—in a word, to the genius—that found expression in his book and made it a model for subsequent students.

Starting, then, from the ground he won for science in these famous chapters, research has taken during the last few years, with ever-increasing assiduity, two principal directions. Inquiry has been addressed first to the relations between magic and religion, and secondly to the question of belief in 'a relatively Supreme Being'.

In the former direction it has been particularly fruitful. Dr. Frazer has enunciated a theory of the essential opposition of magic, the attempt to control and use natural forces by means which we recognize as unscientific and futile, and religion, the conciliation of superior beings. According to this theory, magic preceded religion; religion was only resorted to when magic was found to fail, when the conviction was brought home to more sagacious minds 'that magical ceremonies and incantations did not really effect the results which they were designed to produce and which the majority of their simpler fellows still believed that they did actually produce'. The theory is alluring both on account of its definiteness and its sim-



plicity. This is not the occasion to examine it in detail; but one or two observations may be permitted by the way.

The rise of religion by way of opposition to magic can, of course, never be historically proved: *ex hypothesi* it occurred during times when the written record was not as yet. So far as it rests on any living example of peoples still destitute of religion, it is concerned mainly with a group of tribes in Central Australia. Unfortunately, the explorers who report the case nowhere tell us how far they are acquainted with the dialects spoken, or through what medium their communications were made. The beliefs of the tribes in question are the subject of controversy; and it is not impossible, as Messrs. Spencer and Gillen themselves intimate, that their special circumstances may be largely responsible for an unusual development of magical practices. On the whole, it seems to me that no general theory can be safely built, in the present state of our knowledge, on the beliefs and customs of the Arunta and their neighbours.

Meanwhile, the close connexion between magic and religion at all stages of civilization becomes more and more apparent, the further research is carried. It is abundantly illustrated by Dr. Frazer. It has been illustrated in some detail for the religion of ancient Mexico by Dr. Preuss, who is also of opinion that the true reading of the facts requires the conclusion that magic preceded animism, and therefore preceded worship. According to this theory, if I understand it aright, the chief ceremonies of the Mexican religion were intended to have a magical effect upon the gods. The gods were nature-gods. They were dependent upon those ceremonies for the preservation, the renewal, and the increase of their power. At first men performed ceremonies intended to operate directly upon external phenomena, or to augment their own magical power. But when animism appeared and the conception of gods arose, men thereafter performed those ceremonies, or others like them, for the benefit of the gods. The end was the same—the continuance of the round of the seasons, and the increase of food and other things necessary to human life. Only the means were changed. Instead of striving after those objects directly, men strove to enable the gods to produce them. Without the assistance of mankind the gods would become powerless; unless the renewal of their youth and strength were wrought by the magical rite of sacrifice they would grow old and wither away, if not disappear outright; and with them the world would sink into night and the human race be extinguished.

Dr. Preuss has more recently been prosecuting his researches among the tribes of modern Mexico. Those of us who have followed

the reports he has been able to send home, know that he has found many remains of the old paganism yet vigorous, even among the superficially Christianized peoples. We are anticipating hearing something of his discoveries from his own lips in this section. We await with still more interest the more complete account hereafter, in which he will doubtless develop his theory and bring into full light the numerous points at present dark to us.

Other inquirers—and here Mr. Andrew Lang has led the way—have found salvation in the theory of ‘a relatively Supreme Being’, evolved at an early stage of human speculation, and subsequently overlaid by animism, or the belief in spirits. This in substance, it is needless to point out, has been the theory of the Fathers of the Christian Church from the remotest period, and of others who have had theological axes to grind, only substituting divine revelation for human speculation as the true source of the belief in the Supreme Being in question. Remains of this belief have been supposed to be found everywhere in the lower culture; but serious controversy has chiefly raged of late years around the Australian evidence. That evidence is to a great extent conflicting and uncertain; and where it is practically certain it is extremely difficult to interpret. Among the central tribes fully equipped scientific explorers like Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have failed to detect any actual belief in a ‘relatively Supreme Being’, except in a single tribe, the Kaitish. The most they found in other tribes was a bogey named Twanyirika, with which the women and children were gulled: the boys were undeceived at initiation into manhood. The explorers were treated as fully initiated men. It is probable, therefore, that they penetrated the secret beliefs as well as the ceremonies of the tribes as deeply as their knowledge of the languages (the extent of which we do not know) permitted. On the other hand, German missionaries conversant with the Arunta language, and after a residence of many years in the country, have given us a widely divergent report. They tell us that the Arunta definitely believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, *ein Himmels-gott*, and that they have in addition raised their own forefathers to the dignity of gods. The contradiction between these two statements is such that it is not to be accounted for by merely supposing that while Messrs. Spencer and Gillen visited one branch of the Arunta, Mr. Strehlow and his colleagues, settled among another branch a few miles off, have drawn their information exclusively from the latter. This information presents the supernatural beings believed in by the Arunta and the Luritja as apotheosized to a degree beyond anything recognized by anthropologists.



elsewhere in Australia. It is true that elsewhere in Australia earlier settlers and missionaries reported the belief in supernatural personages dignified by name or implication as supreme gods; but later and more accurate inquiries, such as those of Dr. Howitt, to which I am about to refer, have shown that those reports are not to be wholly relied on. It is not difficult to assign a cause for this. In no case probably was the European reporter initiated into the tribal mysteries. Accordingly he did not obtain full disclosure of the facts; and such facts as he did learn were not properly understood owing to his own preconceptions. The same causes may have been operative in the case of Mr. Strehlow and his colleagues. They have certainly not been initiated; their character as missionaries would be likely to prevent a free communication to them of the teaching associated with the puberty ceremonies; and there are few missionaries who can divest themselves as completely as Callaway or Codrington of prepossessions in their inquiries into savage belief. They may, of course, have conquered these impediments. It is fair to say that as yet we have only fragmentary statements from them. A connected account is, however, in course of publication, and we must await its completion before being in a position to judge of its value.

Throughout Australia the material culture of the tribes is singularly uniform. But in the south-east many of the tribes exhibit 'a clearly-marked advance' in their social institutions.<sup>1</sup> In this region, though not confined to the socially advanced tribes, the belief is found in a supernatural being who is spoken of as 'Father'. He is the guardian of the institutions and ceremonies of the tribe, some of which he established. His origin is generally unknown; and since he still lives it has been concluded that he is definitely regarded as eternal. There are traditions of his having formerly lived on the earth and performed various marvels. Now he usually, but not always, dwells in the sky, where he is sometimes pointed out as a star; but he still visits the earth from time to time. In considering this conception it is first of all necessary to understand what the native idea of Father is. It is by no means the same as ours. It is not an individual relationship: it is the title of a class. If I am an Australian child I call 'father' not only my mother's husband (or all her husbands if she have *pirrauru*-mates) but all his brothers, whether children of the same parents or more remote relations whom he regards, in accordance with tribal reckoning, as brothers. Moreover,

<sup>1</sup> I cannot, as at present advised, subscribe to Father Schmidt's opinion (iii. *Anthropos*, 812 sqq.) that these tribes represent the oldest and most primitive stratum of the Australian population and culture.

it includes all those who were initiated into manhood at the same ceremony as my mother's husband. It will be seen, therefore, that Father is a very comprehensive term. It does not, however, necessarily—perhaps does not in any case—include the idea predominant in our minds of Begetter. It seems, so far as we can translate it into English words, to mean all those men who have a special precedence and authority over the person using it. In many cases if the child be young (or later, particularly if a girl), the mother's husband may have special rights almost amounting, subject to tribal usage, to ownership of the child. But it is frequently merely honorific, for it is common to address all elder men indifferently as 'Father'. Dr. Howitt recognizes in the traditions relating to this superhuman Father the ideal of a tribal Headman, skilful in the use of weapons, all-powerful in magic, generous and liberal to his own people, who does no injury or violence to any one, yet treats with severity any breach of custom or tribal morality. No actual prayers are addressed to him, but sometimes his name is invoked in ceremonies, a figure of mud or clay is made representing him, and dances take place around it. Where these occur we have not exactly worship, but the germ from which worship might easily develop. Eternity does not seem to be affirmed of him. His origin, it is true, is involved in characteristic vagueness; and he does not die, because nobody dies unless by violence or magic. In the sky he is out of reach of violence; and his magic is superior to all other.

Such a being cannot fairly be described as a god, unless we enlarge the meaning of that term to include every being above the common human plane, whether worshipped or not. Nor does he look like a personage who had been a god once and had retired from the business. He has not been superseded by the worship of spirits. Various kinds of spirits are believed in. The spirits of the dead seem in regard to him like the elders of the tribe around their headman. These and other supernatural beings often receive the flattery of fear; but none of them are worshipped. The 'tribal All-father', as Dr. Howitt calls him, is much more probably a mythical medicine-man, waiting, like Bomai-Malu, the culture-hero of the Murray Islanders, for the crown of apotheosis. That crown will now never encircle his brows: it would have required a further development of native culture which the intrusion of the white man and the consequent break-up of native society have rendered impossible.

The same may be said of the Kaitish Atnatu, the nearest analogue in Central Australia to the tribal All-father of the south-east. He is conceived as a gigantic native living beyond the sky with a liberal



supply of wives, who are the stars, and consequently of children, from some of whom the Kaitish are descended. He is said to have made himself far back in the past. The workmanship was clumsy, for a most important part of his anatomy had been forgotten. Perhaps, however, the statement that he made himself is no more than a vague guess—even, it may be, a guess made on the spur of the moment by a native or a group of natives to whom the question of his origin had never been presented before.

It would not be at all remarkable that such a question should never have occurred to them previously, or if it had that they should never have followed up the speculation. We make a mistake in trying to measure out and systematize the beliefs of uncivilized humanity. Travellers, missionaries, scientific students, we are all trained in schools in which the objects of our particular studies are carefully sorted, labelled, and pigeon-holed; and we expect to find the same process in minds nourished entirely on tradition, strange to our methods, and chiefly concentrated on totally different objects. We forget that their ideas are not like Christian dogmas formulated in written creeds of which every word has been the subject of centuries of scholastic disputation. On the contrary, the vagueness of savage ideas is one of the chief difficulties experienced in the attempt to probe the depths of the savage mind. It is not merely an unwillingness to communicate to the white man their beliefs; nor is it merely the observer's unfamiliarity with the trains of thought evolved by men in the lower culture that hinders his design to grasp, assimilate, and reproduce their creed. It is, above all, the cloudy and elusive character of the creed itself, if that may be called a creed which is often no more than a congeries of contradictory tales and formless, half-unconscious speculations. The testimony, express or implied, from every part of the world is the same. I do not know that it can be summed up better than in the words published forty years ago of an acute and trustworthy writer who had lived for six or seven years among the Ahts of Vancouver Island. He says: 'Generally speaking, it is necessary, I think, to view with suspicion any very regular account given by travellers of the religion of savages; their real religious notions cannot be separated from the vague and unformed as well as bestial and grotesque mythology with which they are intermixed. The faint struggling efforts of our natures in so early or so little advanced a stage of moral and intellectual cultivation can produce only a medley of opinions and beliefs not to be dignified by the epithet religious, which are held loosely by the people themselves, and are neither very easily discovered nor explained. In a higher stage

accurate systematizing, in a more or less acceptable and reasonable form, of the undefined notions which frequently accompany and form a part of human appreciation respecting objects supposed to be more than human, is the work, not of barbarous, but of intellectual and civilized minds.' Then, recalling the fact that he was two years among the Ahts with his attention constantly directed towards the subject of their religious beliefs, before he could discover that they possessed any ideas as to an overruling power or a future state of existence, he goes on:—'The people are extremely unwilling to speak of what is mysterious or akin to the spiritual in their ideas; not, it appears, from a sense of the sacredness of the ideas, but from a notion that evil will result from any free communication on such subjects with foreigners. Even after long acquaintance it is only now and then, when "i' the vein", that the sullen, suspicious natures of these people will relax and permit them to open a corner of their minds to a foreigner who possesses their confidence. They generally begin by saying that no white man is able to understand the mysteries of which they will speak. "You know nothing about such things; only old Indians can appreciate them," is a common remark. And in nine cases out of ten so many lies and misstatements are mixed up with the account, either directly for the purpose of mystifying the inquirer, or owing to the unenlightened confusion of the savage in thinking upon religious subjects, that little reliance can be placed upon it. Also the opinions expressed by some of the natives are found on examination to differ on so many points from those of others that it is hardly possible to ascertain the prevailing opinions of any tribe.'<sup>1</sup>

If this be commonly true—as I believe it is in substance—of peoples in the lower culture, it enables—nay, it compels—us to discount many of the definite statements made concerning their beliefs. It accounts for many of the contradictions with which anthropologists are only too familiar. It exhibits a condition of mind incompatible with the existence of a 'relatively Supreme Being' as a savage dogma, but holding in solution possibilities which an elevation of culture may precipitate in more or less definite and systematic form.

To this condition of mind I venture to appeal as a strong reason for accepting a theory of the origin of religion and the mutual relations of magic and religion quite different from either of those previously mentioned. I refer to the theory which lays primary emphasis on two factors: the sense of personality and the sense of mystery. To set forth this theory at length is impossible and probably needless.

<sup>1</sup> Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, 204 sqq.



Let it suffice to say<sup>1</sup> that early man surrounded by the unknown would be oppressed by awe and wonder and the feeling of power which lay behind external phenomena. Interpreting those phenomena in the terms of his own consciousness he would regard them as manifestations of personality. Every personality thus manifested would be possessed of needs and potentialities akin to those he felt within himself. It would be inevitable that he should endeavour to conciliate or to control these personalities. Fortunately he possessed in his own potentiality the means of accomplishing to a very large extent this object. Such inherent potentiality is called by the Iroquoian tribes of North America *orenda*, by the Siouan *wakan*, by the Algonquin *manitowi*. In one form or other it is probably known throughout the lower culture.

It is difficult to render the concept embodied in these words *orenda*, *wakan*, *manitowi*, by any one English word. The word I have used, potentiality, perhaps expresses it best; but even that is inadequate for a concept including such various notions as will, magic, luck, sacredness, mystery. Its importance in the religion and philosophy of the North American Indians was, I think, first pointed out by Miss Alice Fletcher, in a paper read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1897. It was more fully discussed five years later by Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt, in the *American Anthropologist*.<sup>2</sup> It was recognized by Messrs. Hubert and Mauss in *L'Année Sociologique* for 1904, and identified with the Melanesian *mana*, and with similar conceptions elsewhere. They had been largely anticipated in this by Mr. R. R. Marett, in a striking paper read to the British Association in 1899, and subsequently printed in *Folklore*. We shall have the advantage of hearing him at length on the subject by and by.

Meanwhile, the only point to which I need direct attention is the vagueness of this potentiality, this *orenda*. Both in direction and in extent, it is undefined, mysterious. True, different personalities, real and imaginary, are not equally endowed with it. But it is an atmosphere, an influence, exhaled more or less by every one of them, and like an odour sometimes pervasive, sometimes subtle, sometimes faint, it is impossible to assign limits to it. Man's relations

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller statement of the theory I venture to refer to my Presidential Address to the Anthropological section of the British Association Meeting at York, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> And more recently by Mr. Arthur Lovejoy in *The Monist*, vol. xii. He describes the 'energy' or potentiality in question as 'a pervasive, life-giving, impersonal energy', inhering in everything, not merely in every personality. I am not convinced that the evidence will bear this construction.

with all non-human personalities are conceived as analogous with the relations of men among themselves. Beings more powerful than himself he must invoke and conciliate; others he may direct, control, subdue, or even destroy. In either case his end is gained by acts and words; these are the expression of his will, his mystic potentiality, in a word, his *orenda*. They are rites either magical or religious. Directed to the transcendent beings whom he believes to surround him, and whom he must approach with fear and reverence, we call them religious. Directed to beings who may be coerced, we call them magical. But here, again, the line is by no means drawn with precision. Man's *orenda*, or at least the *orenda* of some men, reaches often even to the coercion of the transcendent beings of his imagination. Hence magical procedure is found interwoven with the most solemn religious rites.

Thus, according to this theory, magic and religion spring from the same root. Nay, I should hardly be wrong if I changed the metaphor and said: Magic and religion are the two faces of one medal. From the lowest stage of culture to the highest they may be described as inseparable. Gods were not invented because man proved unequal to the strain of arranging the affairs of the universe by himself; nor has the age of religion been everywhere preceded by the age of magic. Yet the argument which points to the notable development of magic and the feebleness or absence of religion among the Australian tribes, is not without force. While I cannot admit the allegation that religion does not exist, I must admit that its development is far exceeded by that of magic. To some extent the allegation of the absence of religion depends upon our definition of religion. If we were all of us agreed exactly what we meant by religion, and exactly what we meant by a god, a fetish, and so forth, we might not find the problem of the origin of religion less difficult to solve, but we should at all events have a clearer notion of its conditions and of the direction in which we were to seek a solution. I cannot help feeling that in these debates we are very often not *ad idem*. One anthropologist, for example, is unable to see anything religious in the rites of the Arunta: they are all pure magic to him. Another, basing his opinion on the same evidence (that of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen), holds that there is a strong and unmistakable religious element in them. Both students cannot be using the term Religion in the same way. It seems to me a fair inference from much of the literature of the discussion that we are not so far from real agreement as we seem, and the possibility of a reconciliation between the theory that magic preceded religion and the theory that they grew up together



from a common root, will increase as we become conscious of the precise meanings we attach to the phrases we use, and careful to use them always in the same sense. I am aware that this remark must strike you as painfully obvious. I am not sure that it is superfluous on that account. Many things conceal themselves most successfully by their very obviousness. A man has been known to stumble over his own doormat.

I am going to suggest another possibility of reconciliation. Vague, uncertain, and contradictory the savage may be in his beliefs, sluggish his mind may be in regard to matters of speculation: in matters of practical importance, the provision of food and shelter, the protection of his women and children, and the defence of his little community against aggression by human foes or the wild beasts, he is bound to be on the alert and to act. His wits are therefore sharpened for action. Action is natural to him, and thought which has no immediate objective in action is strange. The energies remaining when the body is satisfied with food, when shelter is assured, and hostilities against his fellow-man or the lower animals are for the moment forgotten, must be expended in other kinds of action. Accordingly, ritual is evolved long before belief has become definite and cogent. Ritual governs his social relations as it does ours. He applies analogous ritual to his relations with his non-human surroundings. Hence the North American Pawnee summoned with song and dance and other elaborate rites the buffaloes which were the mainstay of his existence; and he believed that his *orenda*, put into action in the ritual, compelled them to come in answer to his call. Hence the Toradja of Middle Celebes, before he taps a tree for palm-wine, politely expresses his joy at finding it, so long desired, so long sought, pretends to be a lover, holds a conversation with it, and woos it to be his bride. He solemnly gives it a pledge of his love in the shape of a rotan-leaf, which he winds around it. He strains it in a close embrace. This is no mummary to him, whatever it may seem to us. It is the appointed manner of approaching a being who has power to give or to withhold the liquor he desires. It binds the tree to him and engages it to render him the service he needs. When the time comes for the palm-wine to be tapped, he takes his bamboo vessel, pretends to be the palm-tree's child, and asks his mother for the drink for which he is thirsty. He answers as before for the tree, telling himself to drink to satiety, for the mother's breasts are full to overflowing. But at first he only hangs up a small vessel for fear the tree should be frightened and the sap fail. Later he will hang up a bigger

vessel, with suitable explanations and prayers for drink addressed to the tree.<sup>1</sup> The Toradjas are Mohammedans, and the ceremonies described may have suffered by the change of faith. Once they perhaps expressed more plainly the relation of dependence in which the man stood to the tree. Whether they did so or not matters little for my present purpose, since it is manifest that while on the one hand the tree is treated as a sentient and sympathetic being, on the other hand the words and acts employed have a value and force of their own which are necessary to ensure the acquiescence of the tree and the gratification of the suppliant's requirements.

I need not illustrate the process further. From such ritual as this it is merely a step to the ritual addressed to weapons or tools, to the spirits of the dead, or to the loftier beings who may control man's destiny. In short, the whole of magic and worship is here in germ. Man is a creature of habit. These practices easily become traditional. They are performed because it is the custom: the custom of the fathers handed on to the children must not be broken. This is the only reason commonly given by men in the lower culture when questioned. They know no other reason: they do not think about it. Whatever thought originally preceded the action concerned the practical question how to deal with beings imagined (so far as any concept had been formed of them) in anthropomorphic terms, rather than speculative questions on their nature, their origin, or the extent of their powers. These are left undefined: they are unknown or are the subject of individual opinion, fluctuating and contradictory, because it is not the outcome of sustained and earnest reasoning. Action thus grew up in advance of speculation. In the prepotency of action I find the cause of the vivid development of ritual in the lower culture as contrasted with the feebleness of speculative thought. Man acted because he must act: because he must act he believed in the efficacy of his acts. We may call certain of his acts magical and certain others religious. He himself drew no such line between them. On the contrary, not merely did he employ both kinds of ceremonies as they suited his purpose, but one and the same ceremony was often made up of some elements which according to the definition were magical and of other elements which were religious. I am not aware of any savage tribe whose ceremonies are destitute of religious elements. We are all familiar with assertions by travellers of the existence of tribes absolutely without religion. Wherever those assertions have been investigated, they have turned out to be founded upon imperfect information, misunderstanding, or a narrow definition

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt, *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel*, 152, quoting Wilken.



of religion. But the predominance of ritual over speculation in the lower culture does tend towards an earlier development of magic than of what we should call religion. In a sense, therefore, it is true that, among some tribes at least, an age of magic may have preceded the age of religion. Not that religious elements were ever wholly wanting; they were merely overshadowed for a time by the more vigorous growth of magic.

In the same way, to come back to the theory of a 'relatively Supreme Being', it may very well be that of the Powers or Personalities imagined all around primitive man, one may sometimes in the process of ages have acquired a more or less assured predominance. In such a case, according as the rest receded into the background, the predominant Power may have appropriated their attributes and attracted and given form to many floating myths and superstitions, as a mountain peak gathers round its head the clouds and condenses the vapours of the circumambient air. To it then would tend to be ascribed whatever struck the imagination or needed explanation in the external world or the institutions and customs of the tribe. It might thus develop into a Bunjil or a Puluga. But our information does not at present enable us to assert that this was by any means the invariable course of human thought.

In opening the sessions of this section of the Congress I do not offer these remarks in any dogmatic spirit, or with intent to prejudge any subsequent discussion. That it should be unnecessary to say in a scientific assembly. But, in reviewing the recent progress of inquiry on some of the most vital anthropological problems relating to the religions of the lower culture, I have been struck with the strength of the cases presented by scholars who have approached the subject from different sides. It has occurred to me that I might perchance make some small contribution to the solution of the problems in question, by pointing out (very briefly indeed and imperfectly, and certainly with much diffidence) where the theories that have been evolved seem to converge, and what has been hitherto gained by their discussion. How far I have been successful I must leave to the judgement of those who are in a better position than I am to form an opinion, especially to those who have been in actual contact with man in the lower culture.



## PRE-ANIMISTIC STAGES IN RELIGION

BY EDWARD CLODD. (ABSTRACT)

MAN's reluctance to include himself in the results of the processes of evolution was due to the persistence of traditional beliefs, based on assumed revelation, as to his origin. Barely fifty years ago, when Darwin published his *Origin of Species*, he threw out only a brief hint that the theory of natural selection would 'throw light on the history of man', because, as he afterwards explained, he 'did not wish to add to the prejudices' against his views. But from that time, (1) the demonstration of fundamental physical identity between man and the higher mammals; (2) the discovery, in ancient river-gravels, of artificially-chipped stone tools and weapons evidencing man's great antiquity and primitive savagery, confirmed since then by the unearthing of corresponding implements in every quarter of the globe; and (3) the proofs of continuity of mental development throughout the organic world, established by comparative psychology, have made it clear that to study man apart from the universe is to misconceive him; it is to refuse to apply the master key to interpretation of the story of his intellectual and spiritual history.

The question follows: Is there a period in that history on which we can put a finger and say, Here the higher mammals and man show faculties in common, wherein the potential elements of religion are present: a stage prior to the animistic?

For help as answer no direct evidence is forthcoming; we have only inferences drawn from animal behaviour and possible survivals of primitive human conceptions. No clue to these latter is given by the remotest known proto-human, fragments of whose skeleton were found in Java sixteen years ago; nor can imagination, except in unwarranted licence, envisage the cults of the Palaeolithic races. Modern psychology asserts that 'the development of mind in its early stages and in certain of its directions of progress, is revealed most adequately in the animal'. The anecdotal method of inquiry into the reasoning power of animals has given helpful results, but it must yield to the experimental, whereby, in seeking to bring a variety of acts under a general law, more certainty is secured. Of this also we are sure, that between man in the making—shall we say, *Homo alalus*, as the intermediate between *Pithecanthropus erectus* and



*Homo sapiens*?—and the higher mammals of the Tertiary Period, there was in common the similarity of the impressions of the outer world made upon them through their sensory apparatus. That outer world, full of movements, sights, and sounds whose nature and significance neither man nor brute could know, was the one exciting cause of emotions among which affright had largest play. The animal, the child, and the ignorant adult, alike tremble before the unknown and the unusual; fearing, yet not knowing why, or what, they fear. At the stage assumed, man had not conceived of phenomena as divided into the natural and the supernatural, or of himself as compound of material and spiritual. There was only the inchoate sense of surrounding power, and of powerlessness to cope with it; hence, the feeling of inferiority and dependence; and, withal, the dominant primary instincts of lust and hunger which impelled him to be ever on the watch, ever equipped for the struggle for existence.

Thus much may be lawfully assumed; for the rest, some help comes from the extant lower culture. The psychical unity of man being proven, it is obvious that the nearer we can get to the mental standpoint of the savage, the nearer we are to primitive identities which have become blurred and obscured by differences arising among the superior races in their course along varying lines of development, and the more easily shall we be able to trace the origin of the higher in the lower psychology, and the persistent survival of embryonic ideas. We thus reach a stage of evolution *anterior to what is known as Animism*, or the belief in spirits embodied in everything.

The root-idea in this *Pre-animism* is that of power everywhere, power vaguely apprehended, but immanent, and as yet unclothed with personal or supernatural attributes. A striking example of this is given by Sir Herbert Risley, who, in trying to find out what the jungle dwellers in Chutia Nagpur really believe, says that he was 'led to the negative conclusion that the indefinite something which they fear and attempt to propitiate is not a *person* at all in any sense of the word. If one must state the case in positive terms, I should say that the idea which lies at the base of their religion is that of power, or rather, of many powers. All over Chutia Nagpur we find sacred groves, the abode of indeterminate beings, who are represented by no symbols, and of whose form and functions no one can give an intelligible account. They have not yet been clothed with individual attributes; they linger on as survivals of the impersonal stage of early religion.'<sup>1</sup>

Identity with this, or near correspondence in thought, underlies the Melanesian and Maori belief in a power or influence called *mana*,

<sup>1</sup> *People of India*, pp. 215-16. Calcutta, 1908.

to which no personal qualities are attributed, and which can be conveyed in almost everything. With this, in broad and indefinite conception, may be compared the *kutchi* of the Australian Dieri; the *agud* of the Torres islanders; the *manitou* of the Algonkins, the *wakonda* of the Dakotans, and the *oki* or *orenda* of the Iroquois; these last three having been, in each case, mistranslated *God*, giving currency to the belief that the Red Indian races had conceived the idea of One Great Spirit. *Wakonda* is 'that which makes or brings to pass', and the same meaning applies to *manitou* and *oki*. The Bantu *mulungu* and the Kaffir *unkulunkulu* have no connexion with the idea of personality, and in the Masai *engai* Mr. Hollis suggests that 'we may have primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena'. In early Greek religion Zeus is the thunder before he becomes the Thunderer; and 'the characteristic appellation of a divine spirit in the oldest stratum of the Roman religion is not *deus*, a god, but *numen*, a power. He becomes *deus* when he obtains a name, and so is on the way to acquiring a definite personality.'<sup>1</sup> This stage of the god-idea has an illustration in Herodotus (ii. 52): when speaking of the Pelasgians, he says 'they gave no title or name to any of their gods, for they had not yet heard any, but they called them gods (*θεοί*) from some such notion as this, that they had set (*θέτες*) in order all things, and so had the distribution of everything'.

It is in these and cognate examples, too numerous to add, that we see adumbrations of the passage in spiritual evolution from a vague, abstract Naturism to a definite, concrete Animism, which must therefore be regarded as a secondary stage rather than, as is generally assumed, a primary stage. The main apology for this paper is that, if the argument be valid, speculations about the origin of religion as derived from nature worship, animal worship, ghost worship, and so forth, may be found futile, and emphasis be given to the fact of a psychic unity and continuity between the lowest and the highest life.

<sup>1</sup> Bailey's *Religion of Ancient Rome*, p. 12.



## 3

## DIE ASTRALRELIGION IN MEXIKO IN VORSPANISCHER ZEIT UND IN DER GEGENWART

VON K. TH. PREUSS. (GEKÜRZT)

DIE primitiven Religionen weisen bei näherer Betrachtung wohl sämtlich wenigstens einige himmlischen Züge auf. Eine Anschauung von der Welt, wie sie auch auf niederer Stufe vorhanden zu sein pflegt, erfordert zugleich eine Anschauung über die Gestirne. Aber wenn diese auch nach mythischer Auffassung als lebendige Wesen oder in engem Zusammenhang mit solchen stehend gedacht werden, so gehört das noch nicht zur Religion. Erst das Gefühl der Abhängigkeit von den Gestirnwesen und das wahrscheinlich gleichzeitig auftretende Bestreben sie zu beeinflussen, bringen sie in den Bereich der Religion. Aber selbst dann darf man erst von einer Astralreligion sprechen, wenn die grosse Menge der irdischen wirkenden Naturobjekte, theils als Abbilder der Gestirne, theils als ihre Untergebenen, aufgefasst werden. Eine solche Astralreligion finden wir im alten Mexiko. Aber es ist nahezu unmöglich, aus dem Nachrichtenmosaik ein anschauliches Bild von ihr zusammenzustellen. Schon deshalb ist das unmöglich, weil wir Tiere eben nur als Tiere, Pflanzen als Pflanzen, Berge als Berge anzusehen gewohnt sind, und etwaigen Angaben ihrer himmlischen Natur ohne plastisches Verständnis gegenüberstehen. Es geht einfach über unser Fassungsvermögen, die Erde als ein Spiegelbild des Himmels anzusehen und zu denken, dass hier auf Erden nichts geschieht, was nicht den Himmel in Mitleidenschaft zieht. Alles das widerspricht auch so sehr den Ideen, die wir uns von einer Naturreligion machen, dass wir uns schwer darin hineindenken können. Denn obwohl es sich in einer solchen Astralreligion nur um die Beobachtung von Naturerscheinungen handelt, so ist doch die Bezugnahme irdischer Erscheinungen auf die himmlischen in vielen Fällen mehr absolute Phantasie als blosse falsche Verknüpfung correspondierenden Geschehens am Himmel und auf Erden.

Eine solche Auffassung der altmexikanischen Religion bekam ich daher selbst erst, nachdem ich vor drei Jahren eine zweijährige Reise nach Mexiko antrat und dort unter den Indianern der pacifischen Sierra Madre eine Menge vollkommen unbeeinflusster religiöser Feste





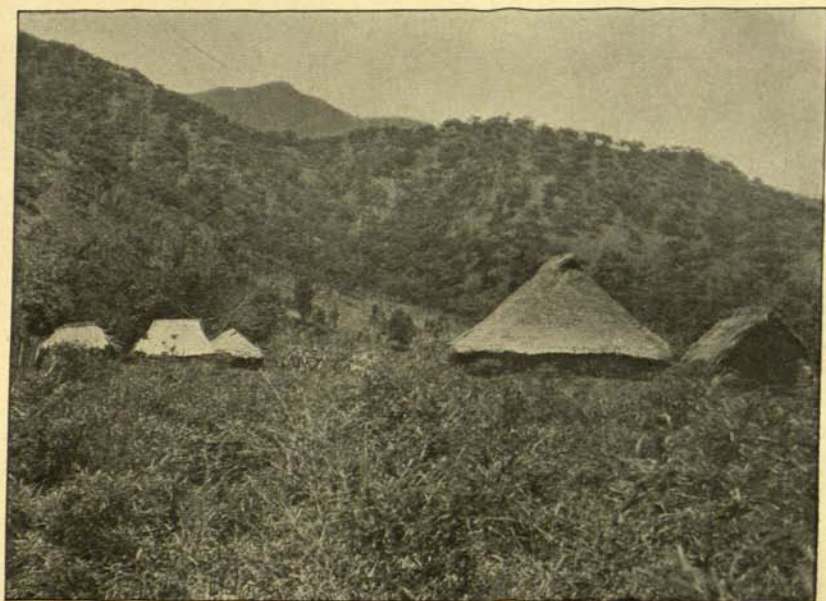


FIG. 1. Tempel für alle Götter in S<sup>a</sup> Barbara (Huichol): links Unterkunftshäuser bei den Festen, rechts Hütte für den Sonnengott. Nach einer Photogr. von K. Th. Preuss.

mitmachte. Zugleich hatte ich dort das Glück, eine erstaunliche Fülle religiöser Gesänge, die sie an den Festen singen, und zahlreiche religiöse Mythen anzutreffen und in den einheimischen Sprachen der drei von mir besuchten Stämme, Cora, Huichol und Mexicano, aufzunehmen. Von meinem gesamten, etwa 5000 Quartseiten an Texten nebst Interlinearübersetzung umfassenden Material nimmt die Religion etwa vier Fünftel ein. Es ist eine für einen primitiven Stamm einzig dastehende Sammlung religiöser Dokumente, die im Verein mit den Festen eine unzweideutige Sprache über das Wesen einer Astralreligion führen. Obwohl das von diesen drei Stämmen bewohnte Gebiet nicht zum altmexikanischen Reiche gehörte, haben sie doch den Alten enge verwandte religiöse Anschauungen. Die von mir besuchten Mexicano sprechen ja auch Nahuatl, die Sprache der alten Mexikaner, während die Cora und Huichol zwei andere, bisher fast ganz unbekannte Sprachen reden. So möchte ich es hier unternehmen, mit einigen Strichen ein Bild der Astralreligion meiner Indianer zu entwerfen und gleichzeitig auf die verwandten Züge der altmexikanischen Religion hinzuweisen.

Die Astralreligion findet bereits in der Auffassung der Tempel bei den Huichol und der Festplätze bei den Cora einen beredten Ausdruck. Die Huichol haben grosse runde Tempel aus einem steinernen Unterbau mit einem strohgedeckten Dache (Fig. 1). Die Eingangsöffnung ist nach Osten gerichtet. Diese Tempel sind ein Abbild der ganzen Welt und beherbergen das zahllose Heer der Götter, deren hauptsächlichste je ein kleines Loch in der Steinmauer als privaten Aufenthaltsort haben. Da die Götter bei den Festen zugegen sein müssen, so bietet diese Welt im Kleinen die Möglichkeit, sie hier im Dienst der Menschen zu vereinigen. Die Ausstattung des Innenraums entspricht ihren Weltideen. Im Osten, Norden, Süden und Westen wird nach der Vollendung des Daches je ein langer Pfeil mit den Federn des wilden Truthahns, des Sonnentieres, innen schräg aufwärts in das abfallende Dach geschossen. Es sind die Sonnenstrahlen, die nach dem Aufgang der Sonne im Osten gleichsam von allen Richtungen die Welt überfluten. Im Dache befinden sich oben im Osten und Westen zwei Nachbildungen der Mondsichel, und von ihm herab ziehen sich in den vier Richtungen vier Balken mit je einer Palmblattfaserschnur, die von den Göttern der äussersten Weltenden gehalten werden. Es ist nun das Merkwürdige, dass nicht nur diese 'Tempel für alle Götter', sondern auch die für viele einzelne Gottheiten vorhandenen kleinen Häuschen die vier Balken und die vier Schnüre enthalten müssen, sodass auch diese Hütten stets die ganze Welt repräsentieren, mag der Inhaber eine Gestirngottheit wie Sonne, Mond und Morgenstern sein, oder eine Maisgöttin, ein Feuergott, eine Geburtsgottheit, eine der Regengottheiten der verschiedenen Weltrich-



tungen u. dgl. m. Das heisst doch mindestens, die ganze Welt ist das Feld jeder einzelnen Gottheit, ihr Wesen besteht in der Wanderung.

Dass sie wirklich nicht nur horizontal, sondern aufwärts und abwärts in lebhafter Wanderung begriffen sind, dafür geben die Opfergaben Kunde, die sie in den Liedern verlangen, nämlich Leitern (*imimui*). Eine solche Leiter der Sonne, die ich heimgebracht habe, ist eine kleine fünfstufige Pyramide: auf einer Seite steigt die Sonne am Himmel empor, und auf der andern herab (Fig. 2). Ist sie oben angelangt, so steht sie auf dem höchsten Punkt des Himmels. Es unterliegt gar keinem Zweifel, dass die mexikanischen Stufenpyramiden, auf deren Gipfel der Tempel der Gottheit stand, einfach Darstellungen der hohen Himmelssitze sind, zu denen die Götter auf Stufen emporsteigen. Solche giebt es aber für die verschiedensten Arten von Göttern. Nicht nur die berühmten Pyramiden der Sonne und des Mondes bei Teotihuacan haben wir, sondern in Tlaltelolco stand z. B. die hohe Pyramide des Feuergottes Xiuhtecutli und in der Stadt Mexiko die etwa 30 m. hohe Pyramide mit den beiden Cellas Huitzilopochtli, des Sonnengottes, und Tlalocs, des Regengottes, dicht nebeneinander.

Letzteres hatte seinen sinnfälligen Grund. Von dem höchsten Sonnenstand nämlich war die Regenzeit abhängig. Deshalb sagt der Sonnengott der Huichol, 'unser Vater' (*tayáú*): 'Wenn ihr mir nicht einen Hahn (aus Maisteig) opfert, so lasse ich Naariuáme (die Hauptregengöttin) nicht ziehen.' Und dann liegen auch die Wolken dem Himmel ebenso auf wie die Gestirne, hat doch sogar die mexikanische Priesterweisheit den untersten der 13 Himmel dem Monde und Tlaloc gemeinsam zugewiesen. Die Cora, die keine Tempel haben, ahmen in der Darstellung ihres Festplatzes dadurch die Welt und den sich darüber wölbenden Himmel nach, dass sie mit Blumen geschmückte Bögen aus Zweigen über dem Altar aufstellen. Die Blumen bedeuten die Sterne, die hier insofern am Platze sind, als die Feste stets in der Nacht stattfinden. Unter den Bögen steht die heilige jicara, die das Weltbild in Gestalt der sechs Richtungen enthält. In einem Dorfe sah ich aber auch kurz vor der Regenzeit den Wolkenhimmel auf dem Altar, dargestellt durch Watte, die stets Regen und Wolken bedeutet und herbeizäubert, über einem Gewölbe von Holzstäbchen, darunter wie gewöhnlich die jicara, die Welt, bereit, das ersehnte Nass zu empfangen (Fig. 3). Wenn man diese enge Zusammengehörigkeit von Sternen und Wolken bedenkt, so ist der mexikanische Name Mixcoatl, 'Wolkenschlange,' für einen Stern Gott verständlich, und kann es auch nicht wundernehmen, dass die Kakauyárite genannten Berggötter der Huichol, die gleich den Berg- und Regengöttern der alten Mexikaner den Regen bringen, direkt als aus der Unterwelt im Westen kommend, d. h. als Sterne bezeichnet werden. Sie zer-

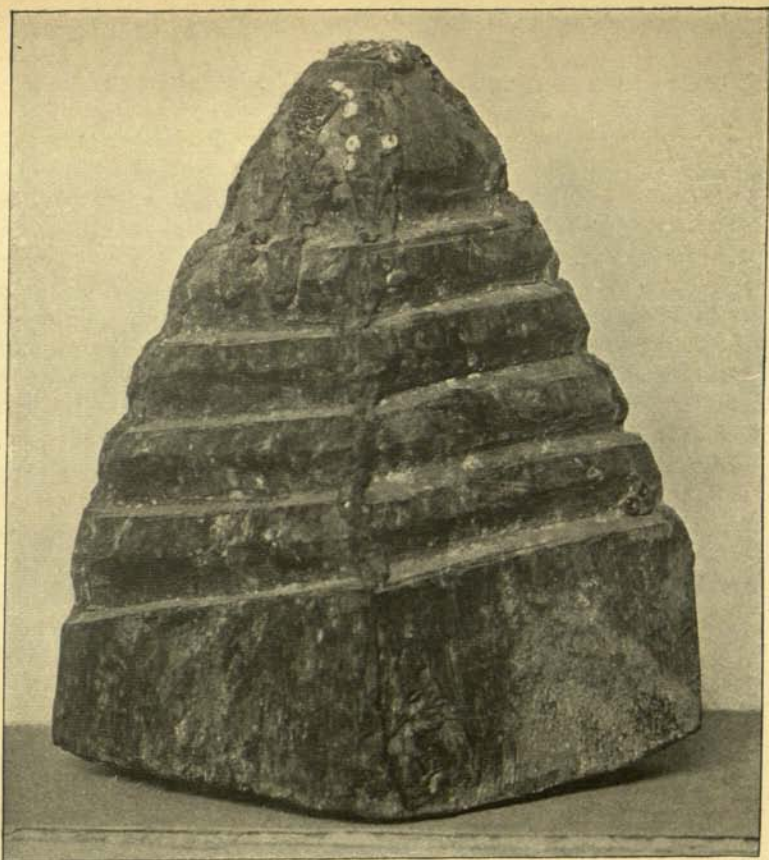


Fig. 2. Opferrampe: Kleine Pyramide als Himmelsleiter für den Sonnengott.  
 $\frac{1}{3}$  wirkl. Gr. Berliner Museum für Völkerkunde.



Fig. 3. Ceremonie der Coraindianer von S. Francisco vor dem Altar. Auf ihm ist der wolkenbedeckte Himmel dargestellt. Nach einer Photogr. von K. Th. Preuss.





streuten sich über das ganze Land bis Sonnenaufgang, der eine liess sich hier, der andere dort nieder. Es sei ein Heer von Göttern, viel zahlreicher als die Menschen, wie die Huichol mir sagten. Aber obwohl sie nun sesshaft geworden sind, bringt man ihnen in dem Anfang der Regenzeit am Fest der Felderreinigung die *sikuri* genannten Rhombenkreuze dar, Kreuze, die vom Centrum aus rundum spiralig mit einem Faden umzogen sind, so dass ein Rhombus entsteht. Diese Rhomben nämlich sind wiederum in ihrer Machart die Nachahmung der Welt, die bei den Cora die Erdgöttin (*tatéx*, 'unsere Mutter'), die zugleich der Mond ist, aus zwei kreuzweise übereinander gelegten Pfeilen des Morgensterns (*tahás*, 'unser älterer Bruder') und ihren eigenen Haaren schuf. Es ist diese Erde in Gestalt des Rhombenkreuzes aber im Grunde nichts weiter als die vier Richtungen, deren Existenz von dem Wandern der Sonne über den Himmel herrührt. Deshalb sind solche Rhomben und ebenso ähnliche sechseckige Sterne die bevorzugten Opfergaben für die Gestirngottheiten *katexochen* der Cora, Sonne, Mond und Morgenstern, obwohl diese Formen als Abbilder der Welt gelten. Die Rhombenkreuze widersprechen also der Sesshaftigkeit der Berggottheiten. Sie sind vielmehr die Requisiten der wandernden Sterne, und da frage ich nun: Sind nicht die Berge einfach die Himmelssitze der Götter wie die Pyramiden, und ist nicht die Erde ein Abbild des Himmels?

Die Wechselbeziehung zwischen Himmel und Erde zeigt sich am besten darin, dass die Mais- und Vegetationsgottheit ein Stern am Himmel ist, der im Frühjahr zur Erde herabsteigt, als Maispflanze geboren und bei der Ernte getötet wird, um wieder an den Sternhimmel zurückzugelangen. Das ist in ähnlicher Weise bei den alten Mexikanern wie bei sämtlichen drei von mir besuchten Stämmen der Fall. Der Tod des Maisgottes erfolgt bei den Cora und Mexicano durch die Zubereitung des Maises über dem Feuer. Die Huichol stellen die Kürbisse bei der Ernte durch kleine Kinder dar und lassen sie am Erntefest vermittelt eines von einem Pfahle herabhängenden Gürtels, der ihren Pfad darstellt, zum Himmel emporsteigen. Deshalb haben diese Kinder die schon erwähnten Rhombenkreuze als Schmuck auf ihrem Hut, um ihre Reise nach den vier Richtungen anzudeuten, und dieselben Rhomben dienen daher ganz allgemein als Opfergaben für das Wohl kleiner Kinder. Überall im alten und modernen Mexiko ist auch die Mondgottheit, die zugleich Erntegottheit und mit dem Mais identisch ist, Erdgöttin, d. h. die Erde. Der Mond ist gewissermassen das compacte Abbild der Erde am Himmel, in die er wie alle Gestirne täglich zurückkehrt. Im alten Mexiko gebiert die Erdgöttin als Mond am Himmel den Maisgott, den Stern, wie sie doch entsprechend als Erde in Wirklichkeit die Vegetation erzeugt, so dass wir also wieder ein Abbild des irdischen Vorgangs am Himmel haben.



Bei näherem Zusehen finden sich merkwürdige Angaben über die Gesamtheit der Götter, Angaben, die einfach ihre Sternnatur kundthun, ohne dass es bisher möglich war, sie in vollem Umfang zu begreifen. Die altmexikanischen Götter kamen aus dem fruchtbaren Tamoanchan, dem Haus 'wo man herabsteigt', der Unterwelt im Westen und zugleich dem Sternhimmel. Sie kamen als Tzitzimime, als Schreckgespenster, vom Himmel auf die Erde an ihre jetzigen Wohnorte herab. Sie stehen in gewissem Sinne alle als Feinde der Sonne gegenüber, die sie des Morgens und im Frühling bei Sonnenaufgang zu bekämpfen hat. Bei den Huichol sind es die Kakauryárite genannten Götter, die in gleicher Weise aus der Unterwelt im Westen kamen. Sie werden vorzugsweise als Berggötter aufgefasst, da das Land der Huichol überall gebirgig ist, sind aber im weiteren Sinn die gesamten an irgend welchen geographischen Punkten weilenden Gottheiten. Ihre Nachkommen sind die Menschen. Andererseits sind die in dem fruchtbaren Westen wohnenden Götter Hirsche, von dort kommen sie herauf, und das Gedeihen der Welt hängt von ihrer Erlegung durch die Sonne ab. Kakauryárite und Hirsche sind also in gleicher Weise Sterne, selbst Morgen- und Abendstern sind zwei Hirsche, und das war auch im alten Mexiko mit dem Gott des Morgensterns Mixcouatl-Camaxtli der Fall. Und die Hirschjagd der Menschen, die sie vornehmen, um die Hirschopfer für die Feste zu erlangen, ist eine Nachahmung der Stern-Hirschjagd der Sonne. Im alten Mexiko aber standen in der gleichen Idee an Stelle der Hirsche Menschen als Opfer und als Abbilder der Sterne.

Entsprechend erfahren wir von andern Tiergattungen, Säugetieren, Vögeln und Insekten, dass sie vom Himmel auf die Erde oder aus der Unterwelt im Westen gekommen sind, wie sie auch umgekehrt in vielen Mythen ihr Unwesen am Himmel treiben. Im Altmexikanischen haben Vögel hier auf Erden angeblich sogar die Stern- gesichts- bemalung der Sternwesen und werden mit den Toten identifiziert. Dazu kommen die vielen Tiere und Pflanzen, die als Abbilder der einzelnen Himmelsgötter bzw. als ihnen heilig bezeichnet werden. Und wenn ein Tier scheinbar ohne Verbindung mit dem Himmel ist, so können die Himmelsgötter es wenigstens in seinem Treiben beeinflussen. So verursachen die Kíiriise genannten kleinen Wassertierchen der Cora die Schlafkrankheit, wenn sie aus dem Wasser zu den am Ufer wachsenden Pflanzen und Bäumen kriechen: die Schlafkrankheit in dem Sinne, dass der Mensch weniger die geheimen Kräfte besitzt, die in der ceremoniellen Enthaltung vom Schläfe liegen. Die Gottheit des Morgensterns gebietet ihnen aber bei Zeiten, ins Wasser zurückzukehren, so dass sie keinen Schaden anrichten können.

Diese Tierchen gehören bereits wie alle Götter der Gewässer bei den Cora zur Göttin der Unterwelt, Tétéuan, die in der sechsten,

untern Richtung wohnt. Die untern Gottheiten gelangen aber im Altmexikanischen alle als Sterndämonen, als Tzitzimime an den Himmel, sodass auch in diesem Beispiel der direkte Zusammenhang mit dem Himmel gewahrt bleibt. Und in dieser selben Ideenverbindung ist die Möglichkeit nicht von der Hand zu weisen, dass der Hang meiner Indianer, für alle Gottheiten Opfergaben in Höhlen niederzulegen, auf das Hineingehen der Gestirne in die Erde zurückführt.<sup>1</sup>

## 4

## IDOL-WORSHIP AMONG THE ARCTIC RACES OF EUROPE AND ASIA

BY DAVID MACRITCHIE. (ABSTRACT)

In his *Lapponia*, written in 1672,<sup>2</sup> the Swedish professor, Scheffer, states that the Lapps of his time worshipped three principal gods: (1) Thor, or Tiermes, 'the thunderer'—otherwise Aijeke, 'the ancestor'; (2) Storjunkar, 'the Great Lord'; and (3) the Sun. Thor's image was made of wood, and he was consequently known as 'the wooden god' (*Muora Jubmel*). Storjunkar was represented by a peculiar stone (or *seita*), for which reason he was called 'the stone god'. Of the Sun there was no image, but in the worship of the Sun the sacrificial bones were arranged in a circle upon the altar. Scheffer adds his belief that the Sun was also incorporate in Thor, and that, therefore, the worship of Thor was at the same time the worship of the Sun.

The wooden image of Thor was always made of birch. 'Of this wood,' says Scheffer, 'they make so many idols as they have sacrifices, and when they have done, they keep them in a cave by some hill

<sup>1</sup> Über die altmexikanische Astralreligion s. K. Th. Preuss in Schiele und Gunkel, *Die Religion in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, s. v. Mexiko.

Näheres über die Astralreligion der drei Stämme s. vorläufig in meinen drei, einander ergänzenden zusammenfassenden Berichten, *Ztschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde*, Berlin, 1908, S. 147; *Ztschr. f. Ethnologie*, xl, 1908, S. 582; *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, xi, 1908, S. 369; und in den auf der Reise abgefassten Berichten im *Globus*, Bd. xc, S. 69, 165; Bd. xci, S. 185; Bd. xcii, S. 155; Bd. xciii, S. 189; *Ztschr. f. Ethnol.*, Bd. xxxviii, 1906, S. 955; *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, ix, 1906, S. 464.

<sup>2</sup> The extracts here made are taken from the English translation, which was printed 'at the Theater in Oxford' in 1674.



side. The shape of them is very rude; only at the top they are made to represent a man's head.' A rude block of this description is shown in Scheffer's book; and also a much more elaborate picture in which Thor's image stands upon a table, or altar. The trunk is simply a block of wood, with sticks projecting on either side to represent arms. At the end of the right arm is fixed a mallet, intended for the hammer of Thor. Across the chest are cross-belts or bandoliers. The head is shaped to resemble a human head, with eyes, eyebrows, nose, and mouth. On either side of the skull are two spikes, in accordance with Scheffer's words: 'Into his head they drive a nail of iron or steel, and a small piece of flint to strike fire with, if he hath a mind to it.' On the table, in front of the figure, is a plate of birch bark, containing portions of a sacrificed reindeer. Behind the figure are deers' antlers, and round the base of the table are branches 'of birch and pine'. A Lapp kneels in adoration before the altar.

Scheffer states that the Lapps make a new image to Thor every autumn, consecrating it by killing a reindeer, and smearing the idol with its blood and fat. The skull, feet, and horns are placed behind the image. The meat is partly eaten by the Lapps, and part is buried, together with the bones.

Von Düben, writing in 1873, gives a similar account. He also reproduces from a manuscript of 1671 a picture which is in close agreement with Scheffer's description. In it are represented three images of Thor on one table. Each image has a mallet attached to either arm, and the bodies are crossed by bandoliers on the waist as well as the chest. The heads are surrounded by haloes.<sup>1</sup> Whether the idea of Thor and his hammer, and the name of Thor itself, ought to be regarded as of Lapp origin, or as derived from more southern races, is a question which has been debated, but into which it is unnecessary to enter here.

The rites accompanying the worship of 'the stone god', or *Storjunkar*, are very similar to those associated with 'the wooden god'. *Storjunkar* is represented by a stone—called a *seita*—usually an unworked stone happening to have a faint suggestion of a human or animal figure. Three examples of these may be cited; one taken from a reindeer pasture and another from a stream, while a third (of white marble, with a covering or cap of calcareous spar) was found in a small island, at a spot known to Lapp tradition as a place of sacrifice, where many horns and bones were found. Sometimes the upper part of these stones was carved to resemble the head of a man or of an animal.

<sup>1</sup> *Om Lappland och Lapparne*, by Gustaf von Düben, Stockholm, 1873, p. 288.

In referring to the worship of these wooden and stone gods, the Hon. John Abercromby remarks<sup>1</sup>: 'The Samoyeds, Ostiaks, Voguls, and Lapps all smear the mouths of their idols with blood and fat.' The Samoyeds in particular have preserved the worship of 'the wooden god', with the same rites as the Lapps. It is noteworthy that these two peoples are, or were, closely allied in language and manners. The Lapps, indeed, style themselves *Sameh* or *Samelats*. From the description given by an English voyager, Stephen Burrough, in 1556, and from an old engraving which has come down to us from about the same period, it is evident that the Samoyed worship of 'the wooden god' corresponds exactly with that of the Lapps. Burrough recounts how, on an island near Vaygatz, he saw 'a heap of Samoyed idols, which were in number above 300, the worst and the most unartificial work that ever I saw. The eyes and mouths of sundry of them were bloody, they had the shape of men, women, and children, very grossly wrought, and that which they had made for other parts was also sprinkled with blood. Some of their idols were an old stick with two or three notches, made with a knife, in it. There was one of their sleds broken, and lay by the heap of idols, and there I saw a deer's skin which the fowls had spoiled; and before certain of their idols blocks were made as high as their mouths, being all bloody. I thought that to be the table whereon they offered their sacrifice.'<sup>2</sup>

The only salient difference between the wooden gods of the Samoyeds and of the Lapps appears to be that the 'hammer of Thor' does not seem to be represented in any picture of the Samoyed idols. This circumstance goes far to support the belief that Thor's hammer is a Teutonic intrusion in Lapland.

Linschoten, in 1601, shows a specimen of a Samoyed idol which recalls Scheffer's account of the wooden stumps frequently worshipped by the seventeenth-century Lapps. 'The shape of them is very rude,' observes Scheffer (p. 40), 'only at the top they are made to represent a man's head.' De la Martinière records that, in 1653, he and his comrades of the Danish expedition discovered, in the territory adjoining Vaygatz Straits, a number of tree stumps rudely carved to resemble men; and, before one of these, two savages were seen kneeling in adoration. Shortly afterwards, on their way back to the ships, the explorers saw two other natives worshipping a similar idol, of which he gives a picture.

In 1875, Nordenskiöld and his comrades of the *Vega* came across a recently used sacrificial site on the west coast of Yalmal, of which

<sup>1</sup> *Pre- and Proto-historic Finns*, Nutt, London, 1898, vol. i, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> *Voyage of the Vega*, vol. i, p. 100 (Eng. Trans.).



he gives a picture. He thus describes the scene: 'On the top of the strand-bank was found a place of sacrifice, consisting of forty-five bears' skulls of various ages placed in a heap, a large number of reindeer skulls, the lower jaw of a walrus, &c. From most of the bears' skulls the canine teeth were broken out, and the lower jaw was frequently entirely wanting. Some of the bones were overgrown with moss and lay sunk in the earth; others had, as the adhering flesh showed, been placed there during the present year. In the middle of the heap of bones stood four erect pieces of wood. Two consisted of sticks a metre in length with notches cut in them, serving to bear up the reindeer and bears' skulls, which were partly placed on the points of the sticks, or hung up by means of the notches, or spitted on the sticks by four-cornered holes cut in the skulls. The two others, which clearly were the proper idols of this place of sacrifice consisted of drift-wood roots, on which some carvings had been made to distinguish the eyes, mouth, and nose. The parts of the pieces of wood intended to represent the eyes and mouth had recently been besmeared with blood, and there still lay at the heap of bones the entrails of a newly-killed reindeer.'<sup>1</sup>

In 1878 the Swedish explorers found a similar sacrificial heap on Vaygatz Island.

In 1894 Mr. Frederick Jackson, in the course of his expedition to Franz-Josef Land, learned that the Samoyeds of Vaygatz and the Great Tundra, at that date, were accustomed to sacrifice a reindeer to their god, killing the animal by slow degrees.<sup>2</sup>

From these references, then, it will be seen that the religious rites practised by the Lapps and by the Samoyeds of northern Russia and north-western Siberia were closely akin, if not actually identical. Analogous ceremonies could apparently be traced all along northern Asia as far as Japan.

For example, the Giliaks of the Amoor region and the Aïnos of Sakhalin and Yezo worship the bear with rites closely resembling those already described. Von Siebold thus pictures the bear-feast of the Aïnos:—

'The Aïnos of Yezo usually celebrate this feast on a pleasant day in autumn. An elegant wooden hut or bower is built outside the village, decked with branches, and inside on a wooden screen is fastened the head of a newly-killed bear. Weapons and other precious articles are displayed as a show in the bear's chapel, the *inao* [a willow-wand, shaved in a peculiar fashion] is set up inside and out, and in front of the chapel mats are spread, on which the Aïno families delight

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> *A Thousand Days in the Arctic*, by Frederick G. Jackson, London, 1899, vol. i, pp. 21-2.



themselves with food and drink, and with singing and dancing. The principal dish is soup with bear's-meat, and the pleasant Japanese *saki* is their festal drink.<sup>1</sup>

There are many Japanese pictures of the Aïno bear-feast. In some of these the head of the newly-killed bear is shown, having the fur on. In others we see only the skull, or sometimes several skulls, placed on the top of a stick and surrounded with the sacred willow-wands. In these latter cases the scene recalls the Samoyed places of sacrifice portrayed by the *Vega* explorers.

The Japanese themselves are interlinked with the Aïno bear-feast; for Von Siebold states<sup>2</sup> that they recognize in it a likeness to one of their own religious feasts.

There are hints also that at some remote period the Japanese worshipped wooden pillars similar to those of Arctic Europe and Asia. Such is the opinion of Mr. W. G. Aston, who finds indications of 'a time when the gods of Japan were wooden posts carved at the top into a rude semblance of the human countenance. . . . In Corea, closely related to Japan, there are gods of this kind. The mile-posts there,' he continues, 'have their upper parts fashioned into the shape of an idol, to which some pompous title is given, and at a [certain specified] village . . . I have seen a group of a dozen or more of these pillar-gods, set up, I was told, as guardians to the inhabitants during an epidemic of small-pox.'<sup>3</sup>

It would be possible, no doubt, to extend these comparisons much more widely; to such an extent, indeed, that any definite conclusion with regard to them would be very difficult. The statements which I have quoted, however, seem to denote that a cult of pillar-worship, and of religious rites performed before animals' skulls fenced in by sacred branches, was, at one time or another, spread all over the northern regions of the Eurasian continent.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted on p. 30 of my *Ainos*, P. W. M. Trap, Leiden, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 30 of my *Ainos*.

<sup>3</sup> *Nihongi* (Eng. trans., Supplement to the Japan Society's *Transactions*, Kegan Paul, London, 1896), vol. i, p. 3, note 6.



## THE CONCEPTION OF MANA

By R. R. MARETT

It is no part of my present design to determine, by an exhaustive analysis of the existing evidence, how the conception of *mana* is understood and applied within its special area of distribution, namely the Pacific region. Such a task pertains to Descriptive Ethnology; and it is rather to a problem of Comparative Ethnology that I should like to call your attention. I propose to discuss the value—that is to say, the appropriateness and the fruitfulness—of either this conception of *mana* or some nearly equivalent notion, such as the Huron *orenda*, when selected by the science of Comparative Religion to serve as one of its categories, or classificatory terms of the widest extension.

Now any historical science that adopts the Comparative Method stands committed to the postulate that human nature is sufficiently homogeneous and uniform to warrant us in classifying its tendencies under formulae coextensive with the whole broad field of anthropological research. Though the conditions of their occurrence cause our data to appear highly disconnected, we claim, even if we cannot yet wholly make good, the right to bind them together into a single system of reference by means of certain general principles. By duly constructing such theoretical bridges, as Dr. Frazer is fond of calling them, we hope eventually to transform, as it were, a medley of insecure, insignificant sandbanks into one stable and glorious Venice.

So much, then, for our scientific ideal. But some sceptical champion of the actual may be inclined to ask: 'Are examples as a matter of fact forthcoming, at any rate from within the particular department of Comparative Religion, of categories or general principles that, when tested by use, prove reasonably steadfast?' To this challenge it may be replied that, even when we limit ourselves to the case of what may be described as 'rudimentary' religion—in regard to which our terminology finds itself in the paradoxical position of having to grapple with states of mind themselves hardly subject to fixed terms at all—there are at all events distinguishable degrees of value to be recognized amongst the categories in current employment. Thus most of us will be agreed that, considered as a head of general classification, '*tabu*' works well enough, but '*totem*' scarcely so well, whilst '*fetich*' is perhaps altogether unsatisfactory. Besides, there is

at least one supreme principle that has for many years stood firm in the midst of these psychological quicksands. Dr. Tylor's conception of 'animism' is the crucial instance of a category that successfully applies to rudimentary religion taken at its widest. If our science is to be compared to a Venice held together by bridges, then 'animism' must be likened to its Rialto.

At the same time, 'lest one good custom should corrupt the world,' we need plenty of customs; and the like holds true of categories. In what follows I may seem to be attacking 'animism', in so far as I shall attempt to endow '*mana*' with classificatory authority to some extent at the expense of the older notion. Let me, therefore, declare at the outset that I should be the last to wish our time-honoured Rialto to be treated as an obsolete or obsolescent structure. If I seek to divert from it some of the traffic it is not naturally suited to bear, I am surely offering it no injury, but a service.

One word more by way of preface. There are those who dislike the introduction of native terms into our scientific nomenclature. The local and general usages, they object, tend to become confused. This may, indeed, be a real danger. On the other hand, are we not more likely to keep in touch with the obscure forces at work in rudimentary religion, if we make what use we can of the clues lying ready to hand in the recorded efforts of rudimentary reflection upon religion? The *mana* of the Pacific may be said, I think, without exaggeration to embody rudimentary reflection—to form a piece of subconscious philosophy. To begin with, the religious eye perceives the presence of *mana* here, there, and everywhere. In the next place, *mana* has worked its way into the very heart of the native languages, where it figures as more than one part of speech, and abounds in secondary meanings of all kinds. Lastly, whatever the word may originally have signified (as far as I know, an unsettled question), it stands in its actual use for something lying more or less beyond the reach of the senses—something verging on what we are wont to describe as the immaterial or unseen. All this, however, hardly amounts to a proof that *mana* has acquired in the aboriginal mind the full status of an abstract idea. For instance, whereas a Codrington might decide in comprehensive fashion that all Melanesian religion consists in getting *mana* for oneself,<sup>1</sup> it is at least open to doubt whether a Melanesian sage could have arrived, unassisted, at a generalization so abstract—a 'bird's eye view' so detached from confusing detail. Nevertheless, we may well suspect some such truth as this to have long been more or less inarticulately felt by the Melanesian mind. In fact, I take it, there would have been small difficulty on Bishop Codrington's part in making an intelligent native realize the force of his universal proposition. What is the

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), 119 n.



moral of this? Surely, that the science of Comparative Religion should strive to explicate the meaning inherent in any given phase of the world's religious experience in just those terms that would naturally suggest themselves, suppose the phase in question to be somehow quickened into self-consciousness and self-expression. Such terms I would denominate 'sympathetic'; and would, further, hazard the judgement that, in the case of all science of the kind, its use of sympathetic terms is the measure of its sympathetic insight. *Mana*, then, I contend, has, despite its exotic appearance, a perfect right to figure as a scientific category by the side of *tabu*—a term hailing from the same geographical area—so long as a classificatory function of like importance can be found for it. That function let us now proceed, if so may be, to discover.

Codrington defines *mana*, in its Melanesian use, as follows: 'a force altogether distinct from physical power, which acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil, and which it is of the greatest advantage to possess or control'; or again he says: 'It is a power or influence, not physical, and in a way supernatural; but it shows itself in physical force, or in any kind of power or excellence which a man possesses.' It is supernatural just in this way, namely, that it is 'what works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men, outside the common processes of nature.' He illustrates his point by examples: 'If a man has been successful in fighting, it has not been his natural strength of arm, quickness of eye, or readiness of resource that has won success; he has certainly got the *mana* of a spirit or of some deceased warrior to empower him, conveyed in an amulet of a stone round his neck, or a tuft of leaves in his belt, in a tooth hung upon a finger of his bow hand, or in the form of words with which he brings supernatural assistance to his side. If a man's pigs multiply, and his gardens are productive, it is not because he is industrious and looks after his property, but because of the stones full of *mana* for pigs and yams that he possesses. Of course a yam naturally grows when planted, that is well known, but it will not be very large unless *mana* comes into play; a canoe will not be swift unless *mana* be brought to bear upon it, a net will not catch many fish, nor an arrow inflict a mortal wound.'<sup>1</sup>

From Polynesia comes much the same story. Tregear in his admirable comparative dictionary of the Polynesian dialects<sup>2</sup> renders the word, which may be either noun or adjective, thus: 'supernatural power; divine authority; having qualities which ordinary persons or things do not possess.' He seems to distinguish, however, what

<sup>1</sup> Codrington, *op. cit.*, 118-20.

<sup>2</sup> E. Tregear, *The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (Wellington, N. Z., 1891), s.v. *mana*.

might be called a 'secular' sense, in which the term stands generally for 'authority', or, as an adjective, for 'effectual, effective'. He cites copious instances from the various dialects to exemplify the supernatural mode of *mana*. Thus the word is applied, in Maori, to a wooden sword that has done deeds so wonderful as to possess a sanctity and power of its own; in Samoan, to a parent who brings a curse on a disobedient child; in Hawaiian, to the gods, or to a man who by his death gives efficacy to an idol; in Tongan, to whoever performs miracles, or bewitches; in Mangarevan, to a magic staff given to a man by his grandfather, or, again, to divination in general; and so forth. In short its range is as wide as those of divinity and witchcraft taken together. If, on the other hand, we turn to what I have called the secular sense attributed to *mana*, as, for example, when it is used of a chief, a healer of maladies, a successful pleader, or the winner of a race, we perceive at once that the distinction of meaning holds good for the civilized lexicographer rather than for the unsophisticated native. The chief who can impose *tabu*, the caster-out of disease-devils, and, in hardly less a degree, the man who can exercise the magic of persuasion, or who can command the luck which the most skilled athlete does not despise, is for the Polynesian mind not metaphorically 'gifted' or 'inspired', but literally. Of course, as in Europe, so in Polynesia the coin of current usage may have become clipped with lapse of time. Thus Plato tells us that both the Spartans and the Athenian ladies of his day used to exclaim of any male person they happened to admire, *θαῖος ἀνὴρ*, 'what a divine man!'<sup>1</sup> It need not surprise us, therefore, that in Mangarevan you may say of any number over forty *manamanana*—an 'awful' lot, in fact. Such an exception, however, can scarcely be allowed to count against the generalization that, throughout the Pacific region, *mana* in its essential meaning connotes what both Codrington and Tregear describe as the supernatural.

Now mark the importance of this in view of the possible use of *mana* as a category of Comparative Religion. Comparative Religion, I would maintain, at all events so long as it is seeking to grapple with rudimentary or protoplasmic types of religious experience, must cast its net somewhat widely. Its interest must embrace the whole of one, and, perhaps, for savagery the more considerable, of the two fundamental aspects under which his experience or his universe (we may express it either way) reveals itself to the rudimentary intelligence of man. What to call this aspect, so as to preserve the flavour of the aboriginal notion, is a difficulty, but a difficulty of detail. The all-important matter is to establish by induction that such an aspect is actually perceived at the level of experience I have called 'rudimentary'.

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Meno* 99 D.



This, I believe, can be done. I have, for instance, shown elsewhere that even the Pygmy, a person perhaps not overburdened with ideas, possesses in his notion of *oudah*<sup>1</sup> an inkling of the difference that marks off the one province of experience from the other. Of course he cannot deal with *oudah* abstractly; provinces of experience and the like are not for him. But I found that, when confronted with particular cases, or rather types of case, my Pygmy friend could determine with great precision whether *oudah* was there or not. What practical results, if any, would be likely to flow from this effort of discernment my knowledge of Pygmy customs, unfortunately, does not enable me to say; but I take it that the conception is not there for nothing. I shall assume, then, that an inductive study of the ideas and customs of savagery will show, firstly, that an awareness of a fundamental aspect of life and of the world, which aspect I shall provisionally term 'supernatural', is so general as to be typical, and, secondly, that such an awareness is no less generally bound up with a specific group of vital reactions.

As to the question of a name for this aspect, different views may be held. The term our science needs ought to express the bare minimum of generic being required to constitute matter for the experience which, taken at its highest, though by no means at its widest, we call 'religious'. 'Raw material for good religion and bad religion, as well as for magic white or black'—how are we going to designate that in a phrase? It will not help us here, I am afraid, to cast about amongst native words. Putting aside *oudah* as too insignificant and too little understood to be pressed into this high service, I can find nothing more nearly adapted to the purpose than the Siouan *wakan* or *wakanda*; of which McGee writes: 'the term may be translated into "mystery" perhaps more satisfactorily than in [*sic*] any other single English word, yet this rendering is at the same time too limited, as *wakanda* vaguely denotes also power, sacred, ancient, grandeur, animate, immortal.'<sup>2</sup> But when vagueness reaches this pitch, it is time, I think, to resort to one of our own more clear-cut notions. Amongst such notions that of 'the supernatural' stands out, in my opinion, as the least objectionable. Of course it is our term; that must be clearly understood. The savage has no word for 'nature'. He does not abstractly distinguish between an order of uniform happenings and a higher order of miraculous happenings. He is merely concerned to mark and exploit the difference when presented in the concrete. As Codrington says: 'A man comes by chance upon a stone which takes

<sup>1</sup> See *Anthropological Essays, presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), 227.

<sup>2</sup> W. J. McGee, *Fifteenth Annual Report of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1898), 182.



his fancy; its shape is singular, it is like something, it is certainly not a common stone, there must be *mana* in it. So he argues with himself, and he puts it to the proof; he lays it at the root of a tree to the fruit of which it has a certain resemblance, or he buries it in the ground when he plants his garden; an abundant crop on the tree or in the garden shows that he is right, the stone is *mana*, has that power in it.<sup>1</sup> Here, however, we have at all events the germs of our formal antithesis between the natural and the supernatural; which, by the way, is perhaps not so nicely suited to the taste of the advanced theology of our day that it would have much scruple about dedicating the expression to the service of rudimentary religion. I should like to add that in any case the English word 'supernatural' seems to suit this context better than the word 'sacred'. *L'idée du sacré* may be apposite enough in French, since *sacré* can stand either for 'holy' or for 'damned'; but it is an abuse of the English language to speak of the 'sacredness' of some accursed wizard. Hence, if our science were to take over the phrase, it must turn its back on usage in favour of etymology; and then, I think, it would be found that the Latin *sacer* merely amounts to *tabu*, the negative mode of the supernatural—a point to which I now proceed.

*Tabu*, as I have tried to prove elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> is the negative mode of the supernatural, to which *mana* corresponds as the positive mode. I am not confining my attention to the use of these terms in the Pacific region,<sup>3</sup> but am considering them as transformed, on the strength of their local use, into categories of world-wide application. Given the supernatural in any form there are always two things to note about it: firstly, that you are to be heedful in regard to it; secondly, that it has power. The first may be called its negative character, the second its positive. Perhaps stronger expressions might seem to be required. *Tabu*, it might be argued, is not so much negative as prohibitive or even minatory; whilst *mana* is not merely positive but operative and thaumaturgic. The more colourless terms, however, are safer when it is a question of characterizing universal modes of the supernatural. Given this wide sense *tabu* simply implies that you must

<sup>1</sup> Codrington, op. cit., 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Anthropological Essays* (Oxford, 1907), 219 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Indeed, in Melanesia at all events, *rongo* answers more nearly to the purpose than does *tambu* (= *tabu*), since the latter always implies human sanction and prohibition. A place may, in fact, be *tambu* without being *rongo*, as when a secret society taboos the approaches to its lodge by means of certain marks, which are quite effectual as representing the physical force commanded by the association. So Codrington, op. cit., 77. Surely, however, every secret society possesses, or originally possessed, a quasi-religious character, and as such would have *mana* at its disposal.



be heedful in regard to the supernatural, not that you must be on your guard against it. The prohibition to have dealings with it is not absolute; otherwise practical religion would be impossible. The warning is against casual, incautious, profane dealings. 'Not to be lightly approached' is Codrington's translation for the corresponding term used in the New Hebrides.<sup>1</sup> Under certain conditions man may draw nigh, but it is well for him to respect those conditions. Thus 'prohibitive' and 'minatory' are too strong. *Tabu*, as popularly used, may in a given context connote something like absolute prohibition, but in the universal application I have given to it can only represent the supernatural in its negative character—the supernatural, so to speak, on the defensive.

We come now to *mana*. Here, again, we must shun descriptions that are too specific. *Mana* is often operative and thaumaturgic, but not always. Like energy, *mana* may be dormant or potential. *Mana*, let us remember, is an adjective as well as a noun, expressing a possession which is likewise a permanent quality. The stone that looks like a banana is and has *mana*, whether you set it working by planting it at the foot of your tree or not. Hence it seems enough to say that *mana* exhibits the supernatural in its positive capacity—ready, but not necessarily in act, to strike.

At this point an important consideration calls for notice. *Tabu* and *mana* apply to the supernatural solely as viewed in what I should like to call its first, or existential, dimension. With its second, or moral, dimension they have nothing to do whatever. They register judgements of fact, as philosophers would say, not judgements of value; they are constitutive categories, not normative. Thus whatever is supernatural is indifferently *tabu*—perilous to the unwary; but as such it may equally well be holy or unclean, set apart for God or abandoned to devil, sainted or sinful, cloistered or quarantined. There is plenty of linguistic evidence to show that such distinctions of value are familiar to the savage mind. Nor is it hard to see how they arise naturally out of the *tabu* idea. Thus in Melanesia everything supernatural is at once *tambu* and *rongo*, words implying that it is fenced round by sanctions human and divine; but there is a stronger term *buto* meaning that the sanctions are specially dreadful and thereupon becoming equivalent to 'abominable',<sup>2</sup> where we seem to pass without a break from degree of intensity to degree of worth. Passing on to *mana*, we find exactly the same absence of moral significance. The mystic potentiality is alike for good and evil. Take, for example, two Samoan phrases found side by side in Tregear's dictionary:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Codrington, op. cit., 188; cf. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>3</sup> Tregear, s.v. *mana*.



*ja'a-mana*, to show extraordinary power or energy, as in healing; *ja'a-manamana*, to attribute an accident or misfortune to supernatural powers. Or again, in Melanesia European medicine is called *pei mana*, but on the other hand there is likewise *mana* in the poisoned arrow.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, *orenda* is power to bless or to curse; and the same holds good of a host of similar native expressions, for instance, *wakan*, *qube*, *manitu*, *oki*, not to go outside North America. Meanwhile, in this direction also moral valuations soon make themselves felt. Thus in the Pacific region we have plenty of special words for witchcraft; and in Maori mythology we even hear of a personified witchcraft *Makutu* dwelling with the wicked goddess *Miru*, of whom Tregear writes: 'the unclean *tapu* was her power (*mana*).'<sup>2</sup> Or again, in Huron there is a word *otgon* denoting specifically the malign and destructive exercise of *orenda*; and Hewitt notes the curious fact that the former term is gradually displacing the latter—as if, he observes, the bad rather than the good manifestations of supernatural power produced a lasting impression on the native mind.<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere<sup>4</sup> I have given Australian examples of a similar distinction drawn between wonder-working power in general, and a specifically noxious variety of the same, such as, for instance, the well-known *arungquiltha* of the Arunta.

I have said enough, I trust, to show that there exists, deep-engrained in the rudimentary thought of the world, a conception of a specific aspect common to all sorts of things and living beings, under which they appear at once as needing insulation and as endowed with an energy of high, since extraordinary, potential,—all this without any reference to the bearing of these facts on human welfare. In this connexion I would merely add that our stock antithesis between magic and religion becomes applicable only when we pass from this to the second or moral dimension of the supernatural. Presented in its double character of *tabu* and *mana* the supernatural is not moral or immoral, but simply unmoral. It is convenient to describe its sphere as that of the magico-religious; but strictly speaking it is that which is neither magical nor religious, since these terms of valuation have yet to be superinduced. I am aware that the normative function of these expressions is not always manifest, that it is permissible to speak of false religion, white magic, and so on. But, for scientific purposes at any rate, an evaluatory use ought, I think, to be assigned to this historic disjunction, not merely in view of the usage of civilized society, but as a consequence of that tendency to mark off by discriminative

<sup>1</sup> Codrington, op. cit., 198, 308.

<sup>2</sup> Tregear, s.vv. *Makutu*, *Miru*.

<sup>3</sup> J. N. B. Hewitt, *The American Anthropologist* (1902), N.S. iv. 37 n.

<sup>4</sup> *Anthropological Essays*, 225 sqq.



epithets the good and the bad supernaturalisms, the kingdoms of God and of the Devil, which runs right through the hierological language of the world.

The rest of this paper will be concerned with a more perplexing, and hence, probably, more controversial, side of the subject. Put in a nutshell the problem is the following: How does 'animism' fit into the scheme? Is the supernatural identical with the spiritual, and is *mana* nothing more or less than spiritual power? Or, on the contrary, are *mana* and 'soul' or 'spirit' categories that belong to relatively distinct systems of ideas—do the two refuse to combine?

As regards this latter question, our minds may quickly be set at rest. Somehow these categories do manage to combine freely, and notably in that very Pacific region where *mana* is at home. The Melanesian evidence collected by Codrington is decisive. Wherever *mana* is found—and that is to say, wherever the supernatural reveals itself—this *mana* is referred to one of three originating sources, namely, a living man, a dead man's ghost, or a 'spirit'; spirits displaying one of two forms, that of a ghostlike appearance—as a native put it, 'something indistinct, with no definite outline, grey like dust, vanishing as soon as looked at'<sup>1</sup>—or that of the ordinary corporeal figure of a man. Other manifestations of the supernatural are explained in terms of these three, or rather the last two, agencies. A sacred animal, or again, a sacred stone, is one which belongs to a ghost or spirit, or in which a ghost or spirit resides.<sup>2</sup> Can we say, then, that 'animism' is in complete possession of the field? With a little stretching of the term, I think, we can. Ghosts and spirits of ghostlike form are obviously animistic to the core. Supernatural beings of human and corporeal form may perhaps be reckoned by courtesy as spirits; though really we have here the rudiments of a distinct and alternative development, namely anthropomorphic theism, a mode of conception that especially appeals to the mythological fancy. Finally, animism can be made without much trouble to cover the case of the living man with *mana*. If a man has *mana*, it resides in his 'spiritual part'<sup>3</sup> or 'soul', which after his death becomes a ghost. Besides, it appears, no man has this power of himself; you can say that he has *mana* with the use of the substantive, not that he is *mana*, as you can say of a ghost or spirit. This latter 'puts the *mana* into the man' (*manag*—a causative verb) or 'inspires' him; and an inspired man will even in speaking of himself say not 'I' but 'we two'.<sup>4</sup> There seems, however, to be a certain flaw in the native logic, involving what comes

<sup>1</sup> Codrington, op. cit., 151.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 178 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 191.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 191, 210, 153.

perilously near to argument in a circle. Not every man has *mana*, nor every ghost;<sup>1</sup> but the soul of a man of power becomes as such a ghost of power, though in his capacity of ghost he has it in greater force than when alive.<sup>2</sup> On the ground of this capacity for earning, if not enjoying, during life the right to be *mana*, I have ventured provisionally to class the living man with the ghost, and the spirit as an independent owner of *mana*; but it is clear that, in defiance of logic, animism has contrived to 'jump the claim'.

Having thus shown in the briefest way that *mana* and 'animism' can occur in combination, I proceed to the awkward task of determining how, if treated as categories applicable to rudimentary religion in general, they are to be provided each with a classificatory function of its own. Perhaps the simplest way of meeting, or rather avoiding, the difficulty is to deny that 'animism' is a category that belongs intrinsically to our science at all. Certainly it might be said to pertain more properly to some interest wider than the magico-religious, call it rudimentary philosophy or what we will. It makes no difference whether we take animism in the vaguer Spencerian sense of the attribution of life and animation—an attitude of mind to which I prefer to give the distinguishing name of 'animatism'—or in the more exact Tylorian sense of the attribution of soul, ghost, or ghost-like spirit. In either case we are carried far beyond the bounds of rudimentary religion, even when magic is made co-partner in the system. There is obviously nothing in the least supernatural in being merely alive. On the other hand, to have soul is, as we have seen, not necessarily to have *mana* here or hereafter. The rudimentary philosophy of Melanesia abounds in nice distinctions of an animistic kind as follows. A yam lives without intelligence, and therefore has no *tarunga* or 'soul'. A pig has a *tarunga* and so likewise has a man, but with this difference that when a pig dies he has no *tindalo* or 'ghost', but a man's *tarunga* at his death becomes a *tindalo*. Even so, however, only a great man's *tarunga* becomes a *tindalo* with *mana*, a 'ghost of worship', as Codrington renders it. Meanwhile, as regards a *vui* or 'spirit', its nature is apparently the same as that of a soul or at any rate a human soul, but it is never without *mana*.<sup>3</sup> Thus only the higher grades of this animistic hierarchy rank as supernatural beings; and you know them for what they are not by their soul-like nature, but by the *mana* that is in them.

It remains to add that *mana* can come very near to meaning 'soul' or 'spirit', though without the connotation of wraith-like appearance.

<sup>1</sup> Codrington, *op. cit.*, 119, 125, 258; but 176 shows that even the burying-places of common people are so far sacred that no one will go there without due cause.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 249; *cf.* 123-6.



Tregear supplies abundant evidence from Polynesia.<sup>1</sup> *Mana* from meaning indwelling power naturally passes into the sense of 'intelligence', 'energy of character,' 'spirit'; and the kindred term *manawa* (*manava*) expresses 'heart', 'the interior man,' 'conscience,' 'soul'; whilst various other compounds of *mana* between them yield a most complete psychological vocabulary—words for thought, memory, belief, approval, affection, desire, and so forth. Meanwhile, *mana* always, I think, falls short of expressing 'individuality'. Though immaterial it is perfectly transmissible. Thus only last week a correspondent wrote to me from Simbo in the Solomon Islands to say that a native has no objection to imparting to you the words of a *mana* song. The mere knowledge will not enable you to perform miracles. You must pay him money, and then *ipso facto* he will transmit the *mana* to you—as we should say, the 'goodwill' of the concern. On the other hand, animism lends itself naturally to this purpose. It is true that there is often very little individuality attaching to the nameless spirit (*vui*) that may enter into a man. But the ghost (*tindalo*) that inspires you is apt to retain its full selfhood, so that the possessed one speaks of 'we two—so-and-so and I'.

I conclude, then, that *mana*, or rather the *tabu-mana* formula, has solid advantages over animism, when the avowed object is to found what Dr. Tylor calls 'a minimum definition of religion'. *Mana* is coextensive with the supernatural; animism is far too wide. *Mana* is always *mana*, supernatural power, differing in intensity—in voltage, so to speak—but never in essence; animism splits up into more or less irreducible kinds, notably 'soul', 'spirit,' and 'ghost'. Finally, *mana*, whilst fully adapted to express the immaterial—the unseen force at work behind the seen—yet, conformably with the incoherent state of rudimentary reflection, leaves in solution the distinction between personal and impersonal, and in particular does not allow any notion of a high individuality to be precipitated. Animism, on the other hand, tends to lose touch with the supernatural in its more impersonal forms, and is not well suited to express its transmissibility nor indeed its immateriality; but, by way of compensation, it can in a specialized form become a means of representing supernatural agents of high individuality, whenever the social condition of mankind is advanced enough to foster such a conception.

This last consideration paves the way for a concluding observation. Throughout I have been in search of classificatory categories applicable to rudimentary religion as a whole. In other words, I have assumed that the subject is to be treated as if it represented a single level of experience, and, moreover, that the treatment is to limit itself to the work of classifying—that is, arranging the facts under

<sup>1</sup> Tregear, op. cit., s.vv. *mana*, *manawa*.



synoptic headings. Now such, I think, must be the prime object of our science at its present stage of development. We must not try to move too fast. Some day, however, when our knowledge is fuller and better organized, we may hope to be able to deal with the history of religion genetically—to exhibit the successive stages of a continuous process of orthogenic or central evolution, whilst making at the same time full allowance for the thousand and one side-shoots of the wide-spreading family-tree of human culture. Now when it comes to exhibiting genesis, it may well be, I think, that, along certain lines of growth, and perhaps along the central line itself, *mana* will at a certain point have to give way to one or another type of animistic conception. Where marked individualities tend to be lacking in society, as in Australia, there it will be found that the supernatural tends normally to be apprehended under more or less impersonal forms. This holds true even within the strict *habitat* of the *mana* doctrine. Thus in the New Hebrides, where the culture is relatively backward, the prevailing animistic conception is that of the *vui* or 'spirit', a being often nameless, and, at the best, of vague personality. On the other hand, in the Solomon Islands, where the culture is more advanced, the religious interest centres in the *tindalo mana* or ghost of power—the departed soul of some well-known individual.<sup>1</sup> In effect, hero-worship has, with the evolution of the hero, superinduced itself upon some sort of polydaemonism redolent of democracy. But I refrain from further speculations about religious evolution. They are tempting, but, in the present state of our knowledge, hardly edifying. I would merely add, glancing forwards for a moment from rudimentary religion to what we call 'advanced', that to the end animism never manages to drive the more impersonal conceptions of the supernatural clean out of the field. The 'ghost', clearly, does not hold its own for long. Anthropomorphic theism, on the other hand, a view that is bred from animatism rather than from animism proper, dominates many of the higher creeds, but not all. Buddhism is a standing example of an advanced type of religion that exalts the impersonal aspect of the divine. It is, again, especially noticeable how a thinker such as Plato, with all his interest in soul, human personality, and the subjective in general, hesitates between a personal and an impersonal rendering of the idea of God. Thus the ambiguity that lies sleeping in *mana* would seem to persist to some extent even when religious experience is at its most self-conscious. In the meantime all religions, low and high, rudimentary and advanced, can join in saying with the Psalmist that 'power belongeth unto God'.

<sup>1</sup> Codrington, *op. cit.*, 122.



## 6

## FUNERARY CUSTOMS AND ESCHATOLOGICAL BELIEFS OF THE ASSAM HILL TRIBES

By T. C. HODSON. (ABSTRACT)

THE methods of disposing of the dead as observed among the Hill Tribes of Assam (Naga, Kuki, and Khasi) include cremation, sepulture, mummification, simple and elaborate desiccatory processes, and tree exposure. Combinations of these methods are found, and mortuary ritual is notably affected by considerations (1) of the social status of the deceased, and (2) of the manner of his death. Death, whatever its mode, puts the tribal nerves on the stretch, and affects the communal life, as is proved by the correlated variations of the *gennas* or communal tabus. The *genna* ordinances, which constitute the unwritten code of these forms of society, rest upon vague indefinite fear of mysterious misfortunes that ensue, automatically, without animistic intermediaries, from their violation. In another aspect they rest also upon the thought that not always nor of necessity does the sinner bear the consequences of his sin, thus making it the business of each to see that his neighbour keeps the law. These features are characteristic and symptomatic of a stage of religious thought prior to that of animism as defined by Dr. Tylor. The dominant feature is a haunting fear of the mysterious, the extra-natural, a fear which draws examples from experience of the essential connexion between sin (in the sense of breaches, by accident or intent, of the communal law) and sickness and death. The occurrence of one such misfortune, of one such 'extra-natural' case of death, excites in their minds a lively dread of an immediate repetition of the event, even, perhaps, with some superadded terror. Thus, in this area with its extraordinary range of cultural development, mortuary ritual on the one hand and eschatological belief on the other are alike informed by pre-animistic as well as by animistic concepts. Those and only those are immediately severed from the living (as is effected or symbolized by a solemn communal rite), are believed to be for ever immured in safe keeping elsewhere, and denied all hope of rebirth—in a word, are treated as and believed to be really dead—whose manner of death is due to an extra-natural, yet none the less to them intelligible, cause. Hence at a stage of religious experience where pre-animistic elements are conspicuous, we discern the root of the vivifying doctrine that 'the wages of sin is death'.

## THE VEDDA CULT OF THE DEAD

By C. G. SELIGMANN

THE basis of the Vedda religion is the cult of the dead, and the Vedda point of view can be best approached by considering the customs observed when a death takes place. When a man, woman, or child dies, the body is left in the cave or rock shelter in which death from sickness occurs. The body is not washed, dressed, or ornamented in any way whatever, but is allowed to lie in the natural supine position and is covered over with leaves and branches. One group of Veddas, the wildest, agreed that a large stone was placed upon the chest of the dead man. This was said to be an old custom, and no reason could be given for it. As soon as these matters were attended to—and it seemed that they were carried through as quickly as possible after death—the small community would leave the cave in which the death had occurred, and avoid it for along time. It was sometimes stated that they would never return, but I know of at least two cases in which sons returned after many years to the cave in which their fathers died. It was always difficult to obtain even a crude estimate of the lapse of time between events, but there was some reason to believe that in one of these two instances the shelter in which the death occurred was left untenanted for about twelve years. In any event it is certain that Veddas did in time return to caves in which a death had occurred, and that, if any bones were left, no difficulty was made about picking these up and casting them into the jungle.<sup>1</sup>

It should be mentioned that no fire was lit near the corpse nor water left by it when the living deserted the cave.

Among the majority of Veddas, including the two wildest groups, there is no avoidance of any of the property of the dead man, and

<sup>1</sup> This accords with what the Drs. Sarasin say of partially civilized Veddas: 'We never found the least difficulty when collecting skeletons. They [the Veddas] were always ready to show us the place in which . . . they had buried. When we proceeded to dig up the skeleton, they for the most part looked on with interest and without showing the least sign of excitement, and when it was necessary to pick all the small hand and feet bones out of the sandy soil, they were perfectly ready to assist in this. We were always willingly told who the person who was buried in a particular spot was. The place of burial was always shown us by the relatives of the deceased . . . Thus in Mudugala, near Omuni, a father showed us the grave of his daughter, and in the Nilgala district a son led us to the grave of his father.'—*Die Veddas von Ceylon*, p. 494.



the contents of his betel bag would be eaten directly after his death; but among the members of another group of Veddas, who must be regarded as pure blooded although their system of magic shows Sinhalese influence, the betel bag, unless it were a very good and new one, would be left with the corpse, and in any case its contents would not be eaten, but left near the dead man. The betel-nut cutter and lime box which during life were always carried in the bag, would not be left in the cave with the corpse, but, before they were used by the living, measures were taken of which the avowed design was to render them harmless when used by the surviving relatives. Thus the old headman of the Henebedda Veddas exposed his father's lime box and betel cutters under a bush for a period which was certainly longer than ten but probably less than thirty days. It was necessary to do this since, if these objects had been used immediately, the individuals using them might and probably would have contracted the same illness as that from which the dead man suffered; and, on further questioning, the old man explained that the *yaka* producing the illness from which his father had died, would, for some time and in some way which he could not define, remain connected with the chewing apparatus which the dead man had used constantly during his last illness.

Among the village Veddas of Omuni (who have much Sinhalese blood in their veins though in culture they appear to owe more to the Tamils of the East coast than to the Sinhalese), it was stated that the betel pouch and its contents would be buried beneath the head of the dead man and a coconut shell of water placed by his side. These people, who—as Tennent records—settled down some seventy years ago, knew only of leaving the body in the cave as a custom practised long ago by their ancestors; and there is no doubt that the adults of the present generation have seen nothing except burial in graves, probably conducted in much the same manner as that practised by the surrounding peasant Sinhalese.<sup>1</sup>

The Omuni Veddas mentioned two interesting points as regards this burial. It should not take place in the immediate neighbourhood of any of their scanty and primitive *chena* cultivations, and the grave should be beyond shouting distance from the village.

To sum up: the speed with which the site of death is deserted must be taken to indicate that, apart from the disgust aroused by decomposition, there is something noxious to the living about the process of dissolution; but so far the nature of this noxious element is not clear.

When attempt is made to discover the nature of the noxious influence, the usual answer given is to the effect that 'if we stayed where a

<sup>1</sup> Tennent, *Ceylon*. London, 1859, vol. ii, pp. 446-7.

death has occurred we should be pelted with stones'. Further questions made it clear that in many instances there was no definite idea that some part of the dead man was the active agent in the stone-throwing; on the other hand some Veddas—and these as far as I could judge were some of the least contaminated—definitely believed that it was the spirit or *yaka* (fem. *yakini*, pl. *yaku*) of the dead man who would cause stones to rain on anybody staying near the corpse. It must, however, be noted that stone-throwing was on many occasions described as the method by which these *yaku* (using the term in its broadest sense, and by no means limiting it to the spirits of the recent dead) showed their displeasure. I may cite an example which occurred in that part of the Uva jungle known as Henebedda. One night between eleven and twelve I was startled by a deep groaning sound of very considerable volume, which was immediately followed by an outcry from the caves some two hundred yards away, in which the Veddas were living. Neither then nor the next day could I ascertain the cause of the noise. The Veddas, however, had no doubt on the subject, but described it as stone-throwing and stated that a number of *yaku* must have been annoyed with our proceedings on the previous day, when, after going through the *kirikoraha* ceremony over a fine buck which one of them had shot the night before, they were tempted to show us some part of the *kolamadua* ceremony without providing the proper gifts for the *yaku* invoked on that occasion. They pointed out that it was these—the *yaku* of long-dead Veddas—who had manifested their displeasure by stone-throwing, though they all admitted that no one had seen the stones thrown or could point out the stones with which the alleged bombardment had been effected. This, combined with the fact that a minority of Veddas frankly admit that the cause of leaving the site where death has occurred is fear of the *yaka* of the deceased, seems to point to the whole process of desertion being due to fear of the spirit of the recently dead, which for a short but indefinite time seems to be thought of as existing near the body it has left, though it was never possible to discover that this was a clearly formulated belief.

It appeared that, properly speaking, the word *yaka* should not be applied to the spirit of the dead for the first four or five days after death. At times the word *prana kariya* would be used for the spirit of a recently dead person, before it had attained the condition implied by the term *yaka*. Among Veddas who had come to some slight extent under Sinhalese or Tamil influence, there was no doubt as to how the spirit spent the greater part of the first five or seven days after death. This matter will shortly be alluded to; but to make clear this part of the *yaka* beliefs of the Veddas it is first necessary to consider some of the ceremonies in which *yaku* are invoked.



The attitude of the Veddas to the spirits of their departed, when these have assumed the condition of *yaku*, may be first considered. As each Vedda community consists of a small number of families who, since cousin marriage prevails, are doubly related by blood and marriage, the *yaku* of the recent dead, called collectively the *Ne Yaku*, are supposed to stand towards the surviving members of the group in the light of friends and relatives who, if well treated, will continue to show lovingkindness to their survivors, and only, if neglected, will show disgust and anger by withdrawing their assistance or even becoming actively hostile. Hence it is generally considered necessary to present an offering to the newly dead, usually within a week or two of a death having taken place; but a few Veddas stated that they would not hold a *Ne Yaku* ceremony until they specially required the help of the *yaku*, or until misfortune threatened or had overtaken them.

Among most Veddas the offering must consist of cooked rice and coconut milk, the food that every Vedda esteems above all other; but betel leaves and areca nut are often added, and the oldest survivor of a small group of 'wild' Veddas stated that this offering would in the old days have consisted of yams and water, if, as was often the case, coconuts and rice could not be obtained. In each community there is one man, called *kapurale* or *dugganawa*, who has the power and knowledge requisite to call the *yaku*; and in the ceremony of presenting the offering called *Ne Yaku Natanawa* (literally, the dancing of the *Ne Yaku*) this man calls upon the *yaka* of the recently dead man to come and take the offering. The *kapurale* (who may conveniently be spoken of as the shaman; I shall use this term during the rest of the paper) becomes possessed by the *yaka* of the dead man, who speaks through the mouth of the shaman in hoarse, guttural accents, stating that he approves the offering, that he will assist his kinsfolk in hunting, and often stating the direction in which the next hunting party should go. Besides the shaman, one or more of the near relatives of the dead man may become possessed; but this, though common, is not invariable. The *yaka* leaves the shaman soon after he has promised his favour and success in hunting, the shaman often collapsing as the spirit goes, and in any case appearing in an exceedingly exhausted state for a few minutes. He soon, however, comes round; whereupon he and all those present, constituting the men, women, and children of the group, eat the offering, usually on the spot on which the invocation took place, though this is not absolutely necessary. It was clear that this eating of food which had been offered to the *yaku* was an act of communion, and an essential part of the ceremony which was thought to bring health and good fortune; for some communities even anointed the heads of their dogs with the milk of the



offering, explaining that this was done because of their value. In one *Ne Yaku* ceremony the shaman fed the nearest relatives of the dead man immediately after the *yaku* left him, holding the bowl containing the offering to their mouths; while, among the wildest Veddas we encountered, not only did the shaman while still possessed feed the children of the group from the bowl and smear the milk over their faces, but a number of members of the group, including the grandchildren of the dead man whose *yaku* possessed the shaman at the time, placed a small portion of the offering in the shaman's mouth.

The above account is an outline of the simplest (and probably a degenerate) form of death ceremony, but usually the matter is complicated by an invocation of certain *yaku* other than the *Ne Yaku*. Many generations ago there lived a Vedda called Kande Wanniya, a mighty hunter, who on his death became Kande Yaka and under this name is constantly invoked to give success in hunting. With Kande Yaka is also associated his younger brother, Bilinde Yaka, who was killed by Kande Yaka in a fit of temper, and who, according to another version, is not the brother but the brother-in-law of Kande Yaka. Now Kande Yaka and often Bilinde Yaka are usually invoked at the beginning of a *Ne Yaku* ceremony, and it was pointed out at different times by a number of our informants that the *Ne Yaku* could not come to the offering unless accompanied by Kande Yaka, who was even spoken of as bringing the *Ne Yaku* with him; in fact many Veddas stated that the *Ne Yaku* go to Kande and become his attendants. This was borne out by the fact that in two death dances seen (one held for a man who had died seven days previously, the other performed to show us the ceremony) Kande and Bilinde Yaka were invoked and possessed the shaman and gave signs of their favour to the group of Veddas present, before the shaman became possessed by the *Ne Yaku*. Further, many of my informants, especially the less sophisticated, pointed out that soon after death the spirits of the deceased resorted to Kande Yaka in order to obtain his permission to accept offerings from their living relatives, and to obtain power from him to assist them in return for their offerings or to injure them in the event of their bad behaviour. Thus Kande Yaka, who is of special assistance in hunting, becomes lord of the dead; but in spite of this it was clear that as regards help in getting game Kande Yaka the spirit scarcely differed from Kande Wanniya, the mighty hunter, still living and showing kindness and helpfulness towards the people among whom he dwelt.

The method of invocation of the *yaku* is essentially the same in all Vedda ceremonies; an invocation is sung by the shaman and often by the onlookers, while the shaman slowly dances, usually round the offering that has been prepared for the *yaku*. Sometimes the



invocations are quite appropriate and consist either of straightforward appeals to the *yaka* invoked for help, or recite the deeds and prowess of the *yaka* when he too was a man, as when Kande Yaka is addressed as 'continuing to go from hill to hill [who] follows up the traces from footprint to footprint of excellent sambhur deer'. But at other times the charms seem singularly inappropriate; probably in many of these instances they are merely the remains of old Sinhalese charms that are not only displaced from their proper position and function, but have become mangled in the process, and have become incomprehensible in the course of time. As the charm is recited over and over again, the shaman dances more and more quickly, his voice becomes hoarse, and he soon becomes possessed by the *yaka*; and although he does not lose consciousness and can co-ordinate his movements, he nevertheless does not retain any clear recollection of what he says and only a general idea of the movements he has performed. Most sincere practitioners whom I have interrogated agreed that, although they never entirely lost consciousness, they were at times near doing so, and that they never fully appreciated what they said when possessed, while at both the beginning and end of possession they experienced a sensation of nausea and vertigo, and the ground seemed to rock and sway beneath their feet. Again, I do not think there could be any doubt as to the non-volitional nature of the possession by the *yaka* of the bystanders—near relatives of the dead man—which took place during the *Ne Yaku* ceremony; although there was nothing about the general behaviour of any of the Veddas with whom I came in contact that suggested a specially neurotic or hysterical tendency.

The strong desire for, and the belief in the possibility of, companionship and communion with the kindly dead on appropriate occasions seems sufficient to explain the phenomena of possession among the Veddas, especially as it was also thought that in a general way the shamans might be expected to be lucky on account of their communion with the *yaku*. Many instances occurred which showed how strong was the feeling of good fellowship which the living had for the spirits of their dead. Thus at Sitalawanniya, on the occasion of the performance of a *Ne Yaku* ceremony got up at our request, Handuna, the shaman and leading man in the small community, volunteered the statement that he and his people were delighted to hold the ceremony, since it was seldom that they were able to offer their *Ne Yaku* such food as that provided by us. Again, after his own father had been invoked and had expressed his unqualified pleasure at the good things provided for him, there was some discussion as to further dancing, because the dancer really felt exhausted, but all urged the continuation of the ceremony, since there were other *yaku* who might well be invoked

on an occasion when an unusually plenteous supply of food was provided for them. Again, in the ceremony which ensured the safe taking of rock honey it was explained that every male member of the little community must perform this dance, since only thus could they certainly expect to share in the benefits to be reaped from the goodwill of the *yaku*; but the best example of the feeling of affectionate regard and of kindly good fellowship existing between the living and the dead is the end of the invocation on the occasion of the *Ne Yaku* ceremony at Sitalawanniya; for surely there can be no closer communion between the quick and the dead than that implied in the invocation, which is fully carried into effect by every member of the community sharing in the food that has been offered to the *yaku*:—

Salutation! Salutation! Part [of our] relatives! Kinsfolk! Having called [you] in time (i.e. at the right time) [we] gave you white rice. [You] eat [and] drink. Do not think any wrong (i.e. do not form an unfavourable opinion of us). We also eat and drink [the same food].

The favours asked of the *yaku* are primarily their assistance in the quest for game and honey, in return for which, besides being given the food to which they are called, they are promised a share of the kill or of the honey they have assisted to procure. Thus at Galmede the *Ne Yaku* were invoked as follows for success in hunting:—

Salutation! *Malpennae wanna*.<sup>1</sup> To-day [I] have no livelihood. [You] must give to-day *binbatu* (i.e. wild bringal). [You] must allow the four-footed persons (i.e. dogs) to catch iguanas. Having roasted [part] of them in an hour (i.e. the Sinhalese hour of twenty minutes) I will make [and] give [you] in proof [of it] a charcoal meat altar (i.e. meat roasted over charcoal will be offered). This very night [you] must grant [me] power to obtain livelihood!

Again before seeking honey the assistance of the *yaku* was also sought:—

Lord! New Goddess! to-day [you] must show [me] a beehive. Having chopped [it out] I will hide it.

This was understood as a promise of honey to the *yakini* whose aid is sought, and seems to hint that the hunter and the *yakini* will share the comb. It is not usual to speak of the *Ne Yaku* as new gods, but they are often spoken of as *alutyaku* (new *yaku*), and among some Veddas the bower built for them is styled the *alutyakagama* (township of the new *yaku*).

At Dambani among the Village Veddas the appeal was even simpler and more direct:—

Our father who went to the other world, come to this world.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of these words is quite uncertain.



Accept (?) rice. Place [for us] the sambhur, place [for us] the axis deer, accept(?) this basil leaf. Come very quickly, accept (?) [this] rice, accept (?) [this] rock honey, accept (?) [this] betel leaf. Place for us the sambhur, place [for us] the axis deer. Come very quickly.<sup>1</sup>

Arrows play a considerable part in the Vedda cult, but, on account of the time limit, I shall restrict myself to describing the use of the ceremonial arrows, called *aude*, employed in the invocation of Kande Yaka, Bilinde Yaka, and the *Ne Yaku*. These ceremonial arrows have a blade some 8 to 18 inches long, which is usually hafted into a handle often considerably shorter than the blade, and which is sometimes covered with incisions so roughly executed that they scarcely form a pattern. These, though possibly to some extent decorative in intention, are certainly not so in fact; so that perhaps they are only there to serve the useful purpose of preventing the hand from slipping.<sup>2</sup> Such ceremonial arrows are generally heirlooms, not necessarily passing from father to son, but rather being handed down in apostolic succession from shaman to shaman; and among the Village Veddas of the Bintenne I have handled one such blade with a history running back for five generations. These arrows are carefully preserved by the shaman; and just as he himself observes certain dietetic rules, avoiding eating pig and fowl, which are supposed to be particularly repulsive to the *yaku*, so among those more sophisticated communities who believe in the periodical uncleanness of women, special precautions are taken to avoid the possible contamination of the *aude*, as these arrows are called.<sup>3</sup> This is generally done by keeping them in some comparatively remote spot such as a cave or in the roof thatch. It is necessary that the shaman should hold one of these arrows in his hand when invoking Kande Yaka; he should also have one for Bilinde Yaka, though as a matter of practice Kande Yaka and Bilinde Yaka were often invoked using the same *aude*, another *aude* being reserved for invoking the *Ne Yaku*. Both arrows were, however, commonly held in the hands during the whole of the *Ne Yaku* ceremony; but in spite of this no confusion seemed to arise, nor had the observers the least difficulty in saying which *aude* belonged to Kande Yaka whenever they were asked.

The offering of rice in the pot would be stirred with the *aude*, betel leaves might be ceremonially transfixed with it, and among the Mudugala Veddas the testing of the quality of the food provided for

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the word translated 'accept' is not quite certain.

<sup>2</sup> These ceremonial arrows are doubtless identical with the large blades described by various authors as formerly used in shooting elephants.

<sup>3</sup> The belief in the periodical uncleanness of women has been borrowed from the Sinhalese. It did not exist in the 'wildest' group met with, on the other hand we found it among all the more sophisticated Veddas, attaining a maximum where these had come most under foreign influence.



the *yaku* was performed with the help of the *aude*, the shaman possessed by Kande Yaka using it to remove from the pot a few grains of rice, which the *yaka* in the person of the shaman several times smelt before expressing his approval of the offering provided.

An extract from an account of the *Ne Yaku* dance performed at Banderaduwa, in the Eastern Province, will make clear the important part played by these *aude* in that ceremony :—

The shaman Tissahame . . . placed two *aude* on the *kirikoraha*<sup>1</sup> and salaamed to the bowl, and then began to dance in the usual manner, first holding one arrow and then holding both, one in each hand ; that in the right hand being for Kande Yaka, that in the left for the *yaka* of Tuta, the recently dead man. . . . As the shaman danced, he stabbed at the *kirikoraha* with the *aude*; in this way the *ne yaka* by whom he was possessed was pleased to show his power. . . . Soon the shaman began to shake and bend his head forward, and was immediately supported by one of the onlookers, into whose arms he fell back. After remaining still a few seconds he began to dance wildly, stabbing the *aude* in the air. . . . Leaping away . . . he tracked an imaginary sambhur round the dancing-ground, holding the two *aude* crosswise to represent the bow and arrow. However, he made no feint to shoot, and put the *aude* on the *kirikoraha*. Supported by one of the Veddas he again danced round the *kirikoraha* . . . and then bending over the *kirikoraha* fell back . . . but he soon revived and took the *aude* and approached the dead man's brothers in turn, who both became possessed by the *ne yaka* and fell back unconscious. Then the shaman smeared their bodies with coconut milk, throwing some into their mouths, and . . . then took the arrows and struck a betel leaf on each and danced . . . but the men who were not relatives of the dead man he threatened to stab with the *aude*.

It is now possible to consider the condition of the spirit of the deceased for the first few days after death, among those Veddas who state that there is a definite time before the spirit *prana kariya* becomes a *yaka*. Among the least sophisticated who held this belief it was thought that the *prana kariya* resorted to Kande Yaka a few days, perhaps three or five, after death, and then obtained permission from him to accept offerings from the living and thus become numbered among his attendants, the *Ne Yaku*; but beyond a vague idea that the spirit might perhaps exist for a short time at the site where death had occurred, these folk had no knowledge of its state before it reached Kande Yaka. Veddas who had come more under Sinhalese influence asserted that it spent some three days in the neighbourhood of the death scene, which it only left to seek the Kateragam god and obtain his permission to become a *yaka* and pass into the train of the attendants of Kande Yaka, and so become a *Ne Yaku* capable of accepting offerings from the living and helping and injuring them.

<sup>1</sup> Literally milk-bowl, the name applied to the bowl containing the coconut milk and other food offered to the *yaku*.



Besides the important part in the Vedda cult of the dead played by the propitiation of the *Ne Yaku* and of the *yaku* of certain other Veddas, such as Kande Wanniya, who as *yaku* have attained to special importance (approaching that of culture heroes in other forms of belief), there is a certain feeling of reverence for a host of unnamed *yaku*. Little attention is paid to these, but since it is stated that they too were once men, the suggestion may be hazarded that they represent the *yaku* of the forgotten dead. These *yaku*, although all around in the jungle, are in some instances thought of as vaguely attached to special localities, especially to glades in the forest, unusually large trees, and above all large rocks and rocky hilltops. The *yaku* of rocks and hilltops indeed tend to become named, taking the name of the hill they inhabit, and even among the less civilized Veddas are sometimes identified with the *yaku* of Vedda headmen who have lived on or near the hills. On the other hand among the more sophisticated Veddas these *yaku* tend to become less and less the spirits of dead Veddas, and finally, under Tamil influence, are thought of as dangerous spirits, immigrants from beyond the Ocean, who each with a female of his own species haunt the hilltops and send disease. Somewhat akin to these *yaku* in their less dangerous forms are the *Kiriamma* (literally, milk-mothers), the *yaku* of Vedda women, generally the wives of Vedda headmen or chiefs, many of whom are especially thought of as existing on the sides and tops of hills where there are rocks and springs. They are sometimes jealous of people gathering honey—indeed there is a tendency to avoid rocky mountain tops on their account; but they may be placated by a charm, or sometimes a little honey is left for them with a muttered *kapau Kiriammala*—‘eat, O Kiriamma.’ They not infrequently send sickness, at least among the more sophisticated Veddas, and retain the fondness for children which they felt in their lifetime, to the extent of sometimes stealing them; and it is especially to avert this danger from the *Kiriamma* that an arrow is often struck into the ground by the side of a sleeping child.

A few *kiriamma* have become rather important *yaku*, notably an old woman of the Unapane clan now known as Unapane Kiriamma, but such *kiriamma* do not appear to be especially associated with rocky or hilly sites.

I have now outlined the leading features of the Vedda cult of the dead. But it must not be thought that the whole matter is as simple as the above description indicates; for the beliefs of the Veddas have been complicated by Sinhalese and, to a less extent, by Tamil influence, nor are these factors always or entirely of recent introduction. Three or four centuries ago there were thriving communities of Village Veddas spread over the Matale district and occupying both sides of the



Mahawelliganga below Alutnuwera; indeed the villagers on both sides of the river still claim to be descendants of Veddas, although at the present day the inhabitants of a number of them belong to the rather low caste of potters and the only remains of their former condition appears to be their somewhat unusual keenness as hunters. Mr. H. Parker—whom I take this opportunity of thanking for much assistance in the preparation of this paper, as well as for the translation of the invocations already given—tells me that a sixteenth-century MS. records the appointment of a Vedda chief as Bandara Mudiyanse (a Sinhalese title applied only to high caste chiefs).<sup>1</sup> His name was Panikki Vedda, i.e. Panikki the Vedda; he was especially famous for capturing elephants, and took some to the king (Bhuvanaika Bahu of Kotta) with another Vedda chief called Liyana Vedda. Other chiefs expressly said to be Veddas of the *Vedda Wasagama* are mentioned in an early seventeenth-century MS. But in the present argument special interest attaches to Panikki Vedda; for Panikkia Yaka, said to be the *yaka* of a long-dead Vedda chief who was especially famed for his knowledge of cattle and his skill in capturing buffalo and elephant, is invoked by some of the less 'wild' Veddas in the *Kolamadua* ceremony, which confers prosperity on villages and cattlefolds, averts pestilence, cures sick folk, and, by bringing success in jungle craft, confers safety in the jungles. Mr. Parker agrees with me that the Vedda Panikkia Yaka of to-day may safely be identified with the sixteenth-century chief Panikki Vedda. Now Panikkia Yaka is one of many *yaku* of dead chiefs known to certain of the less wild Veddas. Other groups which have come equally under Sinhalese influence do not know many of these *yaku*, including Panikkia Yaka, but know of other *yaku* whom they say are the *yaku* of dead Vedda chiefs; so that it seems clear that, through the agency of the more civilized and settled Veddas of a few centuries ago, a number of *yaku* of men whose lives had been passed under Sinhalese influence have been gradually introduced to the less civilized Veddas. The cult of these *yaku*—so long as they retained, as we know they did, the characteristics they possessed while living—cannot but have spread Sinhalese influence; and, as we know that the worship of these *yaku* has spread at the present day to groups of Veddas who, if not the wildest, are yet less sophisticated than Village Veddas, it is only reasonable to suppose that this process accounts for a number of foreign elements which have been introduced into the Vedda cult of the dead. The whole

<sup>1</sup> There is abundant evidence that centuries ago there were thriving Vedda communities—or at least communities with enough Vedda blood to be called Veddas by their contemporaries—politically organized, having as headmen chiefs who exercised considerable influence and were in constant relation with the Sinhalese court.



process must have been much facilitated by two facts. Firstly the Sinhalese recognized the Veddas as belonging to a caste equivalent to the highest of their own, and even their chiefs did not hesitate to intermarry with them; indeed many Sinhalese chiefs at the present day trace their genealogy back to Veddas, and are still proud of their distant kinship with the present-day Veddas. In the second place the Sinhalese<sup>1</sup> have at the present day—though under another name—a cult of the dead which is comparable to that of the Veddas.<sup>2</sup>

The other intrusive element in the Vedda cult of the dead is the adoption of more or less of the Sinhalese and Tamil demonology and even of certain of the Sinhalese gods. The explanation of this is the same as that already given in the case of the foreign *yaku* propitiated by the more or less civilized Veddas, and suggests immediately that lists of the names of demons known to different groups of Veddas should be compared together. When this is done, it is found that, the wilder the group of Veddas, the fewer are the demons known. The matter is thus to be explained by a gradual and long-continued infiltration of foreign influence through the more sophisticated Veddas to the wilder groups. Although I am unable to adduce any evidence as to the length of time the process has been going on, there seems no reason to limit it to recent times; indeed the well-defined Vedda characteristics that some Sinhalese demons have assumed among the wilder groups of Veddas suggest that the process has been going on for an indefinite time. Thus among practically all Veddas, except the most sophisticated Village groups, the Sinhalese demons become *yaku*, expressly stated to be the spirits of dead Veddas; and they may be attached to the train of a really Vedda *yaka*. So among one group

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the Kandyans, not to the Sinhalese of the low southern and western districts of the island.

<sup>2</sup> It must be remembered that—as pointed out to me by Mr. Parker—it is in accordance with Sinhalese Buddhist teaching that the spirits of the deceased may become *yaku*. Further, Mr. Parker says in a letter: 'It is a common practice of the Kandian Sinhalese of the North-West Province to make offerings to the spirits of deceased chiefs and important ancestors. . . . They are called *Bandaras*. They are all classed as *Yakas* by the Sinhalese, and are generally hurtful; but some have certain protective functions and protect cattle and coconut trees and crops.' I have myself collected notes of a recent canonization of this kind. Soon after the death, about 1872, of an influential Ratamahatmaya of the Wellasse district, a number of unusual happenings suggested that one of the dead was trying to attract the attention of the living. A magical ceremony showed that the dead man responsible for these uncanny events was one of the recent dead, and a shamanistic rite determined that the spirit desiring offerings and honour was that of the Ratamahatmaya who is now honoured as Godegedera Dissave Bandar. It may be pointed out that in the old days a Ratamahatmaya corresponded somewhat closely with a Scotch 'Laird'.

of Veddas the Sinhalese demon Indigollae becomes Indigole Yaka, one of the *Ne Yaku*, and simply a named attendant on Kande Yaka. In another community he becomes a powerful *yaka* who, although not as important as Kande Yaka, gives success in hunting; while among yet more sophisticated Veddas he has replaced Kande Yaka, who is no longer known, and has become Lord of the dead, the *Ne Yaku* joining his following and obtaining from him permission to accept offerings, exactly as among the wilder Veddas the *Ne Yaku* resort to Kande Yaka.

As regards the fairly numerous Sinhalese gods adopted into the Vedda cult, among Village Veddas Kateragam Deyo—the Kateragam god, so spoken of; for curiously his name seems unknown to the majority of his Vedda worshippers—has become the Lord of the dead to whom the *Ne Yaku* resort; while silver charms dedicated to him may be worn to remove sickness, these being given subsequently to pilgrims bound for his shrine to be offered there to the god.

## 8

## MAGIC

BY F. B. JEVONS

THE purpose of this paper is to provoke a discussion of the question, What is Magic? And I raise the question in the hope that the discussion may lead, now or hereafter, to some definition of magic which can be generally accepted by those who have occasion to use the term.

In the first place, I would ask you whether magic necessarily implies a magician. To some, I suppose, magic would seem to imply a magician, exactly as witchcraft necessarily implies a witch: if there were no witch there could be no witchcraft, and so, too, it may be held that, if there were no magician, there could be no magic. But it is possible, as against this view, to quote instances of magic in which no magician appears or can appear. For instance, it may be believed, and has been believed, that the yellow eye of the stone-curlew is capable of drawing out the yellow jaundice from a man. Here we have a proceeding of a magical nature in which no magician appears and to which no magician is necessary. This, I need hardly say, is but one instance of a very large number of such cases. So numerous and important are the instances of this belief that like produces like, that Dr. Frazer, in his *History of the Kingship* (p. 38), is inclined to say that any definition of magic which suggests or implies 'a con-



scious agent' as necessary to magic 'limits the scope of magic too narrowly'. In other words, then, on this view magic does not necessarily imply any magician. And it is this view to which I wish first to call your attention and on which I wish to invite your opinion.

On this view, though in some acts of magic a magician appears, in others he does not. And the questions at once arise, Which of these two varieties of magic is to be regarded as the earlier? Which of them contains the root-idea? Is a conscious personal agent essential to magic, or is he not? In *The Golden Bough* (2nd ed., i. 61) Dr. Frazer inclined to think that the conscious personal agent is not essential, and that in the earliest and simplest forms of magic no magician was believed in: wherever magic, he says, 'occurs in its pure unadulterated form, it assumes that in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably without the intervention of any spiritual or personal agency.' Dr. Frazer would, of course, not deny that in the later, less pure, and more adulterated forms of magic, the events which originally had been conceived to occur without the intervention of any personal agency came to be ascribed to the personal agency of a magician: but the root-idea, the pure unadulterated form, of magic was the assumption that in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably. The yellow eye of the stone-curlew naturally and necessarily draws the yellow jaundice out of a man: the intervention of a magician or of any spiritual or personal agency is unnecessary.

This view of the nature and origin of magic is, however, open to some objections. For instance, it implies the belief that things act upon one another; and that such action, or such necessary and invariable succession of one event upon another, is magical. But in the period of Animism the things that act upon one another are conceived to be not inanimate things but animated, acting from much the same motives and in much the same way as men do: the only agency which man then conceives of is personal agency. And if the Animistic period be the earliest period of human evolution, then the magic of that period cannot have been supposed to occur 'without the intervention of any spiritual or personal agency'; for nothing was then believed to occur without the agency of some spirit or personality. Again, not every action which every man or child performed can have been regarded as magical: there was no magic about the ordinary, commonplace actions of everyday life. In fine, in the Animistic period, everything which happened was ascribed to personal agency; and of personal actions, as of personal experiences, only the minority were regarded as magical in their nature.

These considerations may incline us to believe that at the outset, in the Animistic period, magic, like everything else, must have been

regarded as the work of a conscious agent. That, indeed, is a possibility which does not escape the notice of Dr. Frazer: he says that Practical Magic is 'a set of precepts which human beings observe in order to compass their ends' (*Kingship*, p. 39). This seems to admit, or imply, that from the very beginning there could be no 'practical magic' without a conscious agent, a human being, having an end in view which he wished to compass. It is, then, from this alternative starting-point, afforded to us by Dr. Frazer, that it seems preferable for us to set out: magic is one of the means whereby human beings seek to compass their ends.

Without a magician there could be no magic, just as there can be no witchcraft without a witch.

Taking this as our starting-point, and bearing in mind that it was only remarkable and extraordinary proceedings which were regarded as magical, we have now to inquire how a man comes to be regarded as a magician, that is to say, as having power to do remarkable and extraordinary things, such as ordinary persons could not do. The first point to recognize is that a thing must happen before it can call for explanation; and that it is only extraordinary things which arrest attention and provoke the mind to attempt to explain them. The next point is that, in the Animistic period, the only explanation which could be afforded of anything that required explanation was that somebody did it; and, the more extraordinary the thing, the more extraordinary must have been the person who had the power to do it. Now, to the savage, illness and death from illness are amongst the most mysterious of things that happen; and the only explanation that is entertained, or is possible then, is that the sickness has been produced by somebody; and the first practical question accordingly is, Who did it? Whoever did this unpleasant thing, in this mysterious manner, evidently had a mysterious power of acting, and of producing unpleasant results, from a distance. In a word, such a person was a magician or witch. From this point of view, therefore, magic may be roughly defined as the mysterious power of a human being to cause injury to some other person, who is at a distance.

In the next place, where the assumption is made that illness, and death following on illness, must be due to the action of somebody who has the power to produce illness, and to produce it secretly, mysteriously, and from a distance, an attempt will naturally be made to discover who is the person at work causing the illness; and, inasmuch as no person has in fact caused the illness, suspicion will fall on some one who has not caused it, but who appears the sort of person likely to have produced it. Among the persons who are surmised to possess the mysterious power to do things of this kind are old



women, persons with the evil eye, and persons possessing mesmeric or hypnotic power.

Here, perhaps, some one may be inclined to suggest—and it is for you to consider the suggestion—that if, as is probably the case, mesmerism or hypnotism was at least as common in the Animistic period as it is at the present day, the belief in magic may have originated in simple observation of the facts of hypnotism. The mesmerist was apparently seen to throw the patient into a swoon. The power of the magician, therefore, on this view was not a matter of indirect and uncertain inference, but of direct observation. It was not action from a distance and in secret, but an action performed in the presence of bystanders and witnessed by them. First of all the mesmerist or magician was seen to throw his patient into a trance; and then it was easy and natural to ascribe to him things, such as sickness or death, which he neither caused nor was capable of causing. Now, I am far from denying that here we have a set of most important facts which are contributing causes to the extension and maintenance of the belief in magic. But, for all that, I venture to press the view that in them we have not the origin of that belief. Sickness and death from sickness are much more often met with than persons possessing and exercising mesmeric power. An explanation of sickness, therefore, would be sought everywhere, even where nobody possessed, or where no one was known to possess, hypnotic power; and, in the Animistic period, the explanation would necessarily be that the sickness or death was caused by some one who had the power, mysterious though it was, to produce it secretly and at a distance. The universality of the belief in magic seems to require a more widespread cause than is afforded by hypnotic power, which is exceptional rather than general. And a more widespread cause than death it is not necessary to seek. From this point of view we can admit that a person who believes himself to have been bewitched may fall sick and die in consequence; and yet we may safely hold that most cases of fatal sickness amongst savages are due to other causes, even though all such cases are, after the event, ascribed by the savage to the operation of witchcraft.

We have, then, to inquire what is the operation or rather the *modus operandi* of the person who is believed, and who therefore believes himself, to possess the power of causing people to fall ill and die. In the belief both of himself and of those who employ him, he possesses the power to do this thing. All that is necessary, therefore, is that he should exert his power. A person with the evil eye has but to fix his glance upon his victim; or the hypnotist has but to command the patient to fall into a trance. In these cases the magician is face to face with the person on whom he operates. In most cases of

magic, however, the magician operates on a person who is not face to face with him, but at a distance. Here too, however, the *modus operandi* is the same: the magician or witch has but to exercise his power—if he is an Australian blackfellow, he has but to ‘point’ his stick—and the victim falls. He has but to say the word, and the thing is done. What he wills, that he does, there and then, by the power which he possesses and in virtue of which he is a magician.

Now, if the *modus operandi* of magic were never more complicated than that, there would be no possibility of ascribing the effect produced (or supposed to be produced) to anything but the power exercised by or issuing from the magician. But, as a matter of fact, the *modus operandi* tends to become more complicated, because the magician desires to make assurance doubly sure. Not only does he point his stick: he also makes an image of the victim. Not only does he indicate the blow: he deals it. And his magic has, therefore, been described as ‘mimetic’ or ‘imitative’ magic. The essence of it has been supposed to consist in the fact that the magician imitates the result which he wishes to produce. On that supposition it has been inferred that the principle on which the magician, consciously or semi-consciously, acts, is the principle that like produces like. From that it is but one step further to draw the inference that, if like is believed to produce like, if things are assumed ‘to act on each other at a distance, through a secret sympathy’ (Frazer, *Kingship*, p. 40), then the result is not believed to be produced by the magician, nor is any power of producing it believed to be his; but what is assumed is ‘that in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably without the intervention of any spiritual or personal agency’ whatever (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2nd ed., i. 61).

All this argument follows naturally enough from the original premiss that the *modus operandi* of the magician is ‘mimetic’ or ‘imitative’. But I venture to suggest that it is not discovered or realized in the Animistic period that the action of the magician is mimetic. If we assume—mistakenly, in my opinion—that from the very beginning every magical rite was believed to be effective of itself, and without regard to the person who performed it, then it is indeed clear that from the beginning men held ‘that in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably’; and that no magician was required to make one event to follow upon another. But it is, as a matter of fact, undeniable that magicians and witches do exist, and are firmly believed to have the mysterious power of doing evil at a distance. And if we examine more carefully the *modus operandi* of such magicians as are believed to have this power, we shall find that it is not either intended or understood to be mimetic. When a magician makes an image of his enemy—or of his client’s enemy—



and sticks a knife into it, the belief is that the enemy feels the knife go in, then and there. To us, indeed, who distinguish between the categories of likeness and identity, it is clear that sticking the knife into the image is only like sticking it into the enemy. But to the magician and to those who believe in magic, the one thing is not like the other, but identical with it. In other words, the categories of likeness and identity, which to us are distinguishable and distinct, were (as Mr. L. T. Hobhouse points out in his *Morals in Evolution*, II, chaps. i, ii) for primitive thought 'interwoven in wild confusion'.

No interval of time elapses between the waving of the magician's wand, or the pointing of the Australian's stick, and the production of the result. He strikes with his staff, or he utters the word, and the thing is done. The plunging of the knife into the image of the enemy is not—in the belief of those who fail to distinguish between the categories of likeness and identity—followed subsequently by the plunging of an imaginary knife into the body of the enemy. The one thing is not followed by the other; there is no sequence in which the one event follows the other necessarily and invariably; the one thing is not like the other—it is the other. Likeness and identity are not discriminated. It is not at all necessary that the image should be like the victim—likeness is not sought when identity is assumed. It is not even necessary that there should be an image at all: the Australian blackfellow simply points his stick in the direction of his distant enemy, and the injury is thereby, there and then, inflicted. To point the stick is to inflict the injury: the two things are not different but identical. To melt the image is to consume the enemy: the two things are not like but identical. They are not two things: they are one. The action indicated—by pointing the stick or melting the wax—is the action willed. There are not two actions of which one is like the other, and of which one is followed by the other. There is one action which the magician wills and which he indicates, whether by his look, or his gesture, or by his words.

In the earliest stage of witchcraft, then, I submit, the magician does not mimic or imitate that which he wishes to do: he does it. If, as is sometimes the case, he is a mesmerist or hypnotist, he does not imitate a swoon or a trance: he produces it. If he has the evil eye, he does not imitate or mimic anything: the evil falls with his glance upon the victim. And the injury is done, not because of any rite which he performs, but because he has the power, in the belief of himself, of the bystanders, and the victim, to inflict it. The cases are well attested in which the victim dies as soon as he learns that he has been bewitched.

But though the Australian blackfellow need only point his stick

to bring his enemy down—just as the hypnotist need only indicate his will, and the patient swoons—the more clearly and carefully the magician expresses his will, the more surely his power will take effect. Hence, he not only points his weapon, he drives it into something which represents the victim. The something at first need not resemble his victim. But if it does, it makes assurance doubly sure. The image then made is indeed like—and to us it is only like—the victim; and the action of the magician is only like the effect he purposes to produce. But for the performer the categories of likeness and identity are confused: this blow which he deals is not merely like, it is the blow which he wishes to deal. At this stage, however, in the growth of magic, it may become at times apparent that it is both like and identical. This stage may be illustrated by the use of masks in sacred ceremonies all over the world: the wearer of a mask which represents a deceased ancestor, or a divinity, is made by the wearing of the mask not only like the person it portrays: he is genuinely believed by all to be identical with the personality portrayed, just as the stabbing of the victim's image is unfeignedly believed to be the stabbing of the victim himself—likeness is not discriminated from identity. The mask-wearing is not in all cases conscious fraud, any more than the practice of witchcraft is. The belief—even of the performers—is in many cases undoubtedly genuine.

What helps forward the discrimination of the two categories is the discovery of the fact that the operation of magic is not in all cases immediate: the stick is pointed, but the victim does not fall ill until he is told he has been bewitched, and that may be some time later. The interval of time which elapses or may elapse between the rite and its fulfilment tends to cause the victim's illness or death to be regarded as the result of the rite; but it would be, I think, a mistake to imagine that the victim's illness or death is ever supposed to be due simply or solely to the rite. It is true that the magician may ascribe his failures to the fact that he failed to perform some detail in the rite properly. But it is also true, and in this connexion it is more important, that, when the magic comes off, the success is accepted both by the magician, and by those who witness it, as due to the personal, mysterious power of the magician himself.

There remains, however, the class, the large class, of instances known under the name of sympathetic magic. In them no magician whatever appears. Wearing the feathers of a bald-headed buzzard produces baldness, or the sight of a squirrel causes rheumatism; or the glance of the stone-curlew extracts jaundice from a man. Here it may be alleged, and as a matter of fact it is alleged, that we have things believed to be acting on each other through a secret sympathy, or one event following upon another, necessarily and invariably,



without the intervention of any spiritual or personal agency, or of any magician's power. But once more we have to bear in mind that in the period of Animism every event whatever, which arrests attention and demands explanation, is explained as being due to personal agency and personal power. If anything unpleasant—rheumatism or what not—occurs, somebody must have done it. The question never is, What caused this event? It always is, Who did this thing? The answer may be, This man; or it may be, This animal, or That bird. And the reason why the buzzard or the squirrel arrests attention, as being the guilty agent, is the likeness or rather the identity of the cramped attitude of the squirrel and of the sufferer from rheumatism, or of the baldness common to buzzard and man alike. Just as the magician points his stick and his victim falls, so the stone-curlew eyes the sufferer from jaundice, and the jaundice comes out: magician and curlew alike possess a power which is mysterious and personal; and it is, I submit, a misunderstanding to conceive that, in the case of either, the result is supposed by Animistic man to take place 'without the intervention of any spiritual or personal agency'. The squirrel or bird is as much a person as the magician, is equally regarded as 'a conscious agent', and is believed as such to possess the same power to work disagreeable wonders as the magician. The squirrel operates by its cramped movements in exactly the same way as the magician by pointing his stick, or stabbing an image. Where we see likeness, the savage feels identity.

For the purpose, therefore, of raising discussion of the question, What is magic?—I submit as a rough definition that magic is the mysterious power of a person or conscious agent to cause injury—or, secondarily it may be, benefit—to another person, who may be at a distance; a power which when exerted is accompanied by, or ascribed to, an exclamation, gesture, or action indicating and effecting what is willed. To us the exclamation or gesture only indicates what is willed. In the opinion of the savage, who fails to discriminate between the categories of likeness and identity, the action he performs not merely resembles, but is the action which he wills.

## PERSONAL AMULETS IN EUROPE

BY L. ECKENSTEIN. (ABSTRACT)

THE personal amulets of Europe are the tools of a primitive faith, which, I think, preceded the practice of magic, in the sense that things that have a certain likeness react on one another. The use of amulets has accompanied man from a remote period, and their choice and the ways of treating them afford additional material for the study of primitive belief.

Many amulets are identical with those that have come out of ancient burial-places, others have survived as attributes of heathen divinities and as emblems of the saints. Their use under different aspects illustrates the continuity of human conceptions and the transformations which these conceptions undergo.

The giant accepted a stone or an egg as his external self or *alter ego*. On the same basis the owner of an amulet accepted a counterpart or *alter ego* of some part of his body. He did so owing to the observed likeness between the two, which might be in shape or in colour. Blood-stones, or other stones, that are flecked with red are accepted as staying spontaneous bleeding, as is shown by examples cited in history and recovered in different parts of Europe in recent years. One of these in Italy had the shape of a drop of blood; others were suspended by a red ribbon. This addition of like to like intensified the presumed power of the amulet.

Some amulets are peculiar to men, others to women. Pendants are heirs to the phallic emblems: in Italy men still wear a branch of red coral; while in northern latitudes a seal or other pendant, often made of heliotrope, is worn attached to the watch-chain. Women, on the other hand, wear beads. Many such beads come out of the oldest British and other women's graves. Italian women at the present time wear a white bead as the *alter ego* of the breast while they are nursing, which is often of agate having the appearance of milk diluted with water. The use of the stone in this connexion recalls the cult of the 'Agatha Mater' whose breasts were processionally carried round in Sicily, and of the Christian Saint, Agatha of Catania, whose breasts were cut off in martyrdom. Again, Italian women wear a red bead as a safeguard to their health, while the German woman ties a red thread round her little finger. Men also, by preference, wear the signet ring, often of blood-stone, on the little finger. Their doing so hangs together with the fact that the little finger was



ritually bled in divination, as is shown by familiar phrases, and by the nursery rhyme on the fingers, current in almost every country of Europe, according to which the little finger 'tells' or 'goes squeak'. The connexion between red amulets and sacrificial bleeding is shown by the rites observed at the fox-hunt and at the horse-race; one horse-amulet consists of a horse's head sewn on a scarlet lappet. Scraps of red or pieces of wood tied with red are worn by cattle from a similar association of ideas. Such wood is often of the rowan tree, the yew, or the holly, which are credited with a peculiar power in different parts of Europe on account of their berries being red. Such trees are planted near Druidical circles and in churchyards, their wood is put to various ceremonial uses, and children wear their berries as a protective necklet.

Red amulets, consisting for the most part of berries or beads, are the ornament of women and children, probably because these were chosen for sacrifice by preference, as is shown by the statements of various historians. The semblance of a sacrificial celebration continues at Trevi in Umbria, at which red coral necklets are hung on a child who is dressed up as an angel. The red coral worn by the Christ child, and the coral that is used in teething, are credited with a protective power from a like association of ideas.

An ordinary amulet used in teething consists of the actual tooth of a wolf or a dog. Examples have been found in ancient graves, which are provided with a hole for suspension, exactly like those in use at the present day. The tusk of the boar and the half-claw of the crab serve the same purpose. The antiquity of these conceptions is shown by Pliny's recommendation, as an aid in dentition, of the canine tooth of the wolf on the right side, which also serves as a handle for a modern German rattle.

Stones of green colour, often consisting of jade, sometimes of an actual axe of the Stone Age, serve as the *alter ego* of an internal organ which causes pain—probably the liver; hence jade is called spleen-stone. These amulets were tied on the back, on the place where the organ was supposed to lie. The olivine of Iona is treasured as a curing-stone presumably on account of its green colour.

Again, the use of amber as an amulet illustrates primitive ways of thinking. It affords protection to the eyesight, and acts as the *alter ego* of the tears by which the human eye relieves itself of pain caused by a particle or insect flying into it. This connexion gave rise to the myth of the sisters of Phaethon who wept tears of electrum, and to the golden tears of the goddess Freya. *Glesum* was the old German word for amber. Glass nowadays serves as a protection to the eyesight in Italy. Another amulet was the fossilized shark's tooth, which served as a protection against snake-bite owing to its likeness



to a serpent's tongue, with which the serpent was formerly supposed to sting. This fossil *glossapetra*, or *lingua di San Paolo*, according to Pliny dropped from heaven during the eclipse of the moon. A miraculous origin was claimed also for the toad-stone, the swallow-stone, the eagle-stone, and others. The toad-stone was accepted as a protection against poison, owing to the current belief that the toad was a venomous animal.

The peculiarity of the eagle-stone or *actites*, known as St. Mary's Nut in the West Hebrides, lies in the fact that a small object, a stone or seed, is loosely enclosed in an outer shell or capsule, so that it rattles if it is shaken. This suggested the relation of parent and offspring to the primitive mind, and the amulet was worn by women in child-bearing, or was tied on the cow to protect the calf, or on the tree to prevent the fruit from dropping. Such a stone was recently lent out in an Italian village at the price of five francs for the nine months, exactly in the same way as was formerly done with a stone in the possession of Christ Church, Canterbury. Caution was enjoined in the use of the latter stone, owing to the power it conferred on the midwife of transferring the ills of the sufferer to an animal, another woman, or to the husband.

Some amulets serve to baffle the machinations of the witch who uses the counterpart of a heart and covers it with pricks in order to bring about a person's death. Her efforts are baffled by wearing a piece of madreporite, which is naturally speckled, or a small bag of millet or other seed. Some of these amulets of madreporite have the shape of a heart. The heart amulet commonly worn by cart-horses, which are especially subject to witchcraft, is surrounded by a number of perforations which simulate these pin-pricks, and the protective power of the pricked heart survives in the cult of the heart of the Virgin which is pierced by seven swords or sorrows.

Stone axes and arrow-heads ward off the dangers that threaten from on high, since it is thought that sparks lurk in these stones, as lightning lurks in the thunder-cloud. The presence of the lurking spark must have been a fact of common observation to the worker of such weapons in the Stone Age. It was an ordinary practice to oppose like with like, and the lightning that might fall from heaven was anticipated by hurling weapons at the gathering storm. The Thracians, the Goths, and the Gauls discharged a volley of arrows at the thunder-cloud, and guns and small cannon are used to dispel the hail nowadays. In order to protect the homestead stone axes were walled into the house or placed at its foundation. Others were hung up near the chimney and were periodically greased or anointed in order to add to the efficacy of the cold stone, on which a film of moisture was seen to gather, this moisture being interpreted as per-



spiration on the part of the stone. The washings and scrapings of such stones were used to strengthen and purify man and beast; from an early period, according to northern Sagas, scraped runes were drunk in mead, while Pythagoras, on his arrival in Crete, was purified by the priest by means of a thunder-stone; probably he was sprinkled with water in which the stone axe had been steeped. The stones that had fallen from heaven in ancient temples were probably stone axes that originally protected these buildings from lightning, and were subsequently made into an attribute of Zeus and Thor and the other gods who dwelt on mountain-tops and rode in the gathering storm.

The hammer of Thor returned to his hand, as did the arrow-heads of Guse, king of the Lapps. These myths reflect the custom of shooting at the thunder-cloud and of subsequently recovering and treasuring the weapon as a thunder-stone.

Flint arrow-heads, pierced with a hole for suspension, or set in silver, have served as a protective amulet for many centuries. Some form the centre-piece of gold Etruscan necklets, others have been found in ancient burial-places. Besides serving as an amulet for man, they are put to various ceremonial usages to protect cows and the flow of milk, which is apt to be turned by thunder. The value attached to such an amulet is shown by the Lee-penny, which, if not an actual arrow-head, has all the appearance of one. Some arrow-head amulets are marked with the rune *Thyr*, which was a mark of sacrifice and corresponds with our letter *T*. This explains the superstitious value attaching to this letter, which was also the mark of the sacrificial cake ('Pater, pater cake') and is used in the milking charm ('Cushy cow bonny'). The sign of the broad arrow in Christian times became the emblem of the three holy nails of the Cross that are joined together at the tips. Perhaps it is identical with the broad-arrow sign used by the Government and put on prison clothes.

Other amulets include the key, which is used to loosen the grip of epilepsy by being forced into the clenched hand; and knots, the untying of which sets the wind loose, or makes an undertaking prosperous. This idea is expressed in the myths of King Aeolus and in that of the Gordian knot. There are also bones, plants, medals, medallions, the modern *Agnus Dei* which is heir to the *bulla* of classic antiquity, and many objects, the acceptance of which is instructive from the point of view of primitive belief.

Thus the use of these amulets admits of a reasonable explanation. They are accepted on a basis which carries their use far back in human history. This use does not imply the belief in a personal deity which we owe to the Semitic race, nor the belief in spirits which seems to be an heirloom of the Turanian race. On the face of it, amulets were

accepted by peoples of a race the supremacy of which belongs to an earlier period in history. For, as in the case of the external self of the giant, amulets were primarily intended to secure safety to the individual. Their use being allied to human sacrifice and to the transference of evil, the stage of moral and mental development to which they can be traced is relatively low. Still their use may reasonably claim to have added to the sense of personal responsibility in the individual as distinct from that of the herd, while the likeness for which they were accepted sharpened the wits of humankind. As tangible tools they have lived on in heathen and Christian belief, and have contributed their share to the acceptance of emblems in the later forms of faith. It is for this reason that amulets claim a place, I think, in the history of the study of religions.

## 10

**THE CULT OF EXECUTED CRIMINALS IN  
SICILY**

By E. SIDNEY HARTLAND. (ABSTRACT)

NEAR the Ponte dell' Ammiraglio, otherwise called the Ponte delle Teste, at Palermo, is a little church of no architectural pretensions and described in no guide-book, called the Chiesa dei Decollati. The Decollati are executed criminals, many of whom were formerly buried in the little churchyard attached. The church is the centre of a cult of which they are the objects. Having died reconciled to the Church, they are invoked to intercede especially on behalf of persons who are exposed to accidents by land or water or to murderous violence, and on behalf of those who suffer from hæmoptysis. Their intercession is also frequently invoked in other cases. Pilgrimages are made to the church, where the souls of the Decollati are believed to congregate beneath a certain stone and to give audible answers to prayer. Various shrines of Decollati also exist in other parts of Sicily. They may also be invoked by suppliants who are unable to make pilgrimages to their shrines. Sometimes they appear to the faithful and render direct assistance. The cult is a product of the state of society in Sicily during many centuries.



## 11

DATA WITH REGARD TO THE BELIEF OF  
SOME SOUTH SEA SAVAGES

BY B. PULLEN-BURRY. (ABSTRACT)

THE inhabitants of the Gazelle Peninsula in the north of New Britain believe in a desirable place called *Tingenalabaran*, which the spirit of the departed may enter if sufficiently endowed with *tamboo* (shell money), strings of which are wound round the corpse. If there is not enough to satisfy the god who permits souls to enter, the spirit has to go to a cold, bleak, undesirable place called *Jakupia*. It is therefore indispensable for the savage to acquire as much *tamboo* as possible in his lifetime. The attendant ceremonies connected with the passing of the spirit illustrate their beliefs, especially *the dread of evil* which unfriendly spirits may cause, which underlies all native thought and action in these parts. German settlers, however, explain that these cannibals rarely eat the bodies of the white men they kill, from fear of bringing upon themselves the vengeance of the white man's unknown spirits, which they consider stronger than their own. The lately discovered Bainings of the mountains in the north-west of the peninsula are an exception to the rule in their belief in the power of the spirits of the dead. Admittedly the lowest race in the Bismarck Archipelago, they possess an elementary belief only in an impersonal spirit-life which surrounds them.

The heaven of the Sultkas on the south coast of New Britain is called *Mlol*, and is supposed to be in the middle of the earth. At the entrance are two rocks, where the spirit's advance is stopped, and, unless it can prove its earthly life to have been satisfactory, it is denied admission and wanders southward. The Sultkas have interesting beliefs concerning meteors; they regard earthquakes, thunder, and lightning as proceeding from an unfriendly spirit called *Kot*.

## PROFESSOR SCHEPPIG'S FORSCHUNGEN ÜBER DIE NATURVÖLKER

VON A. TITIUS. (GEKÜRZT)

RICHARD SCHEPPIG (1845–1903), ein Schüler des Leipziger Historikers Wuttke, ist mit Arbeiten ethnologischer Art zuerst 1874 hervorgetreten, als er für Herbert Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology* den Abschnitt über die alten Mexikaner, Peru, Centralamerika, die Chibchas und alten Peruaner bearbeitete. Dazu trat 1880 ein Abschnitt über die Hebräer und Phönicier. Seit 1876 in arbeitsreicher Stellung in Kiel, verwaltete er seit 1888 das Museum für Völkerkunde. Auch in dieser Zeit bewiesen zahlreiche kleinere Publikationen, unter denen zwei Abhandlungen über die Säule von Kap Cross, sowie seine Jahresberichte über Völkerkunde im *Archiv für Anthropologie* (1883–1887) und über die Urgeschichte der Menschheit in den *Jahresberichten der Geschichtswissenschaft* (1888–9) erwähnt werden mögen, seine dauernde lebhafteste Anteilnahme an den Forschungen über primitive Kultur. Die eigentümliche Richtung aber, die seine Studien nahmen, zeigen zwei weitere Abhandlungen: *Der Völkergedanke im Aufbau einer Wissenschaft vom Menschen* (*Verhandlungen der Ges. f. Erdkunde*, Berlin, 1883) und *Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Portugiesischen Entdeckungen an der westafrikanischen Küste, mit Beiträgen zur Kenntnis der Geschichte Martin Behaims und seines Globus*. Die nachgelassenen Manuskripte Scheppigs zeigen ihn aufs intensivste beschäftigt mit der Verwertung der ältesten Quellen, der Entdeckungsgeschichte, für die Kenntnis der Primitiven. Noch wichtiger aber ist ein zwar noch unvollendeter, aber in wichtigen Teilen bereits ausgearbeiteter Versuch der Beschreibung der Familien und Gemeinschaftsverhältnisse aller Primitiven. Dies Werk seiner Vollendung zuzuführen, wäre eine lohnende Aufgabe, die aber die Kraft eines Einzelnen übersteigen würde. Ich beabsichtige hier nicht Mitteilungen über Einzelheiten zu machen, obwohl sein Entwurf sehr viel Lehrreiches auch für die Religionsforschung bringt, sondern nur seine Methode hervorzuheben weil sie mir mustergiltig erscheint für eine streng exakte Erforschung der primitiven Kultur. Gemäss seiner Abhandlung über den Völkergedanken hat er seine soziologischen Studien so eingerichtet, dass er mit allen Mitteln des geschulten Ethnologen die Gesamtheit aller primitiven Stämme in ihrer natürlichen nationalen und geographischen Gliederung zu beschreiben unternimmt, in diesem Gesamtbilde aber jeden Stamm für sich betrachtet und alle Nachrichten, die ihm zufließen



lokalisiert, auf den besondern Stamm bezieht, den der Beobachter beschreibt. So sind die Gefahren der vorschnellen Verallgemeinerung der Beobachtung und der Zersplitterung der Einzelforschung gleichmässig vermieden.

Der zweite leitende Gesichtspunkt Scheppigs ist dieser, alle wirklich sämtlich vorhandenen Nachrichten und Beobachtungen über die einzelnen Stämme heranzuziehen. Dem geschulten Beobachter ergibt sich dabei von selbst die kritische Verwertung der Berichte, die Ausscheidung der erst aus der Berührung mit einer höhern Kultur stammenden Elemente; mit Recht hat daher Scheppig den ältesten Nachrichten, soweit sie aus kundiger Hand stammen, einen besonders hohen Wert beigelegt.

Es sei gestattet, im Anschluss an diese Mitteilungen eine Anregung zu geben; mir scheint, dass die Erforschung der primitiven Kultur und Religion nur dann eine wirklich feste wissenschaftliche Basis gewinnen kann, wenn sie sich entschliesst, den mühsamen Weg zu gehen, den Scheppig einzuschlagen den Mut hatte. Die Aufgabe ist gross; es müsste in umfassender und planmässig geleiteter Arbeit eine Gesamtdarstellung der primitiven Kultur und Religion (denn nur im Gesamtgefüge der Kultur kann die Religion und Mythologie verständlich werden) in Angriff genommen werden. Ethnologen, Sprachforscher, Religionshistoriker, Missionäre müssten sich dabei Hand in Hand arbeiten; sämtliche aus älterer Beobachtung stammenden Nachrichten müssten, soweit als gegenwärtig noch angänglich, durch die lebendige Anschauung an Ort und Stelle kontrolliert, ergänzt und verbessert werden. Diese Aufgabe planmässig in Angriff zu nehmen, ist um so wichtiger, da die Zeit nicht mehr fern ist, in der man primitive Kultur in ihrer Abgeschlossenheit und Unberührtheit von fremden Einflüssen überhaupt nicht mehr wird beobachten können. Es versteht sich von selbst, dass eine solche Aufgabe von einem Einzelnen überhaupt nicht in Angriff genommen werden kann. Vielmehr müsste sich ein internationales Comité bilden, das die Arbeit anzuregen, zu leiten und zu centralisieren unternähme. Männer aller Nationen müssten sich daran beteiligen; besonders wichtig wäre es bei der weltumspannenden Kraft der Angelsachsen, dass England und Amerika neben Deutschland im Comité vertreten würden, ferner Russland, Frankreich, Holland, Belgien, Dänemark, Portugal und die Nationen des fernen Osten, China und Japan. Nur durch lebendige Föhlung mit den Kolonien aller Länder und Zusammenfassung aller wissenschaftlichen Forschung lässt sich hier zum Ziele gelangen. Unser internationaler Kongress aber erscheint mir als die geeignete Stätte, um diese Arbeit anzuregen.

## THE RELIGION OF THE NANDI

BY A. C. HOLLIS. (ABSTRACT)

THE Nandi tribe inhabit a part of the highlands known as the Nandi plateau, which is situated to the east of the Victoria Nyanza in British East Africa.

The religious beliefs of the Nandi are somewhat vague and unformulated. The supreme deity is *Asista*, the sun, who dwells in the sky: he created man and beast, and the world belongs to him; prayers are addressed to him; he is acknowledged to be a benefactor and the giver of all good things; and offerings are at times made to him in return.

Besides *Asista*, there are two other superhuman beings, the kindly and malevolent Thunder gods called respectively *Ilet ne-mic* and *Ilet ne-ya*. The crashing of thunder near at hand is said to be the bad *Ilet* trying to come to earth to kill people, whilst the distant rumbling is the good *Ilet*, who is protecting them and driving away his namesake. The Thunder gods are not worshipped, nor are offerings made to them.

The *Oik*, i.e. the spirits of departed ancestors and adult relations, are held to be responsible for sickness and death, and they are appealed to and propitiated with milk, beer, and food whenever necessary. The human soul is embodied in a person's shadow, and it is firmly believed that after death the shadows of both good and bad people go underground and live there.

There is also a devil called *Chemosit*, who is supposed to live on the earth and to prowl round searching to devour people. He is said to be half man, half bird, to have only one leg but nine buttocks, and his mouth, which is red, is supposed to shine at night time like a lamp. He propels himself by means of a stick which resembles a spear and which he uses as a crutch.

The prayers of the Nandi, like their religious beliefs, are somewhat vague. The commonest form of prayer, which is supposed to be recited by all adult Nandi twice a day, but which is more particularly used by old men when they rise in the morning, especially if they have had a bad dream, is addressed to both *Asista* and to the spirits of deceased ancestors. The following is a translation:

God, I have prayed to thee, guard my children and cattle.

I have approached thee morning and evening.

God, I have prayed to thee whilst thou didst sleep and whilst thou wentest.



God, I have prayed to thee. Do not now say : ' I am tired.'  
 O our spirits, guard us who live on the earth, and do not say : ' We  
 were killed by human beings.'

*War.* When warriors have gone to the wars, the men's mothers  
 spit towards the sun every morning and say :

God, give us health.

The fathers meet together regularly and, before drinking their  
 beer, sing :

God, guard our children,  
 That we may greet them.

They then sprinkle some of the beer on the ground and on the walls  
 of the hut, and say :

O our spirits, we pray to you.  
 Regard this beer, and give us health.

On the return of a war party a thankoffering is made if the expedi-  
 tion has been a success, and a war dance is held at which curiously  
 enough a song is sung in Masai. It is simply :

I pray to *eng-Ai* (the Masai Rain-god)  
 And I pray to Mbatian (a former powerful Masai chief).

When the captured cattle enter the cattle kraals, they are welcomed  
 as follows :

The raided cattle, ho !  
 God hath given us health.

If the expedition has not been successful and a number of warriors  
 have been killed, the survivors must all go to a river on their return  
 to their homes and bathe. They then hold a dance at which the  
 women wail and cry at intervals. Afterwards an old man stands  
 amongst the seated warriors and says :

God, we admit ourselves beaten,  
 We pray thee, give us peace.

*Cattle.* When cattle have been raided by an enemy or killed by  
 lightning, a procession is formed and the cattle that have been left  
 are driven to the nearest river, where each animal is sprinkled with  
 water. One old man then recites these lines, all present repeating  
 them after him :

God, guard these that are left.  
 We pray thee, guard these that are left.

When disease breaks out in a herd, a large bonfire is made and  
 the sick herd is driven to the fire. A pregnant sheep is killed and  
 eaten, and the herd is driven round the fire, each beast being sprinkled  
 with milk, whilst the following prayer is offered up :

God, we pray thee,  
 Guard these that are here.

If cattle are poisoned at a 'salt-lick', a similar ceremony is performed, but the prayer is slightly different. The elders say :

God, make good the salt-lick for us,  
So that if the oxen eat of the salt they may like it.

*Harvest.* During the ripening of the eleusine grain and after the grain has been reaped, the harvest ceremonies are held. Porridge is made from the first basketful of grain cut, and all the members of the family take some of the food and dab it on the walls and roofs of the huts. They also put a little in their mouths and spit it out towards the east. The following prayer is then recited :

God, give us health,  
And may we be given strength,  
And may we be given milk.  
If any man eats of this corn, may he like it.  
And if a pregnant woman eats it, may she like it.

After the harvest has been gathered in, a large bonfire is made by each division, and when there is a big blaze an erection like a door of a cattle kraal is built near the fire. The warriors then file past, and the elders, who stand by the door-posts, take a little milk and beer in their mouths and spit it on them whilst singing as follows :

God, give us health.  
God, give us raided cattle.  
God, give us the offspring of men and cattle.

*Drought.* When there is a protracted drought, the old men collect together and take a black sheep with them to a river. Having tied a fur cloak on to the sheep's back, they push it into the water, and take beer and milk into their mouths, which they spit out in the direction of the rising sun. When the sheep scrambles out of the water and shakes itself, they recite the following prayer :

God, we pray thee give us rain.  
Regard this milk and beer.  
We are suffering like women labouring with child.  
Guard our pregnant women and cows.

*Building.* When the erection of a house is commenced, a short inaugural ceremony is performed. The elders of the family pour milk and beer and put some salt into the hole that has been prepared for the reception of the central pole and say :

God, give us health.  
God, give us milk.  
God, give us power.  
God, give us corn.  
God, give us everything that is good.  
God, guard our children and our cattle.

*Birth.* Four months after the birth of a child a feast is held. An



ox or goat is slaughtered, and after the mother, child, and animal have been anointed with milk by one of the elders of the clan, the child's face is washed in the undigested food in the animal's stomach. The elder then prays as follows :

God, give us health.  
 God, protect us.  
 O our spirits, guard this child.  
 O belly, guard this child.

*Potters.* When the potters, who are always women, bake their wares, they recite the following prayer :

God, give us strength,  
 So that, when we cook in the pots, men may like them.

*Smiths.* When smiths search for iron ore they pray and say :

God, give us health.  
 God, give us iron.

*Children.* Children do not as a rule pray, but when the two middle incisor teeth of the lower jaw are extracted, they throw the teeth away towards the rising sun and say :

God, take these brown teeth and give me white ones,  
 So that I may drink calf's milk.

It is impossible to refer in this paper to the totems, tabus, clan peculiarities, rites, ceremonies, magic, and witch-craft, and the folk and cattle-lore of the Nandi, although these matters are all intimately connected with their religion. From the foregoing, however, it will be seen that the Nandi believe in a sky-god whose name, as already stated, is synonymous with the sun. The Nandi also, like the surrounding Bantu peoples and unlike the Masai, worship and propitiate the spirits of deceased ancestors. As a general rule it may, I think, be said that prayer and sacrifice to the sun or deities in the sky are unknown amongst the Bantu tribes of Eastern Africa, whilst this form of worship is followed by all the Nilotic or Hamitic tribes. The Bantu Kikuyu, it is true, acknowledge a sky-god whom they call Ngai, but both the name and the worship are obviously borrowed from the Masai. The Chaga, too, who sometimes pray to a sun-god called Iruwa, and spit towards the east when they leave their huts in the morning, have probably taken these customs from the Dorobo, who are nearly akin to the Nandi.

I have been asked to add a few words on the subject of *eng-Ai*, the Masai term for God.

*Eng-Ai*, i. e. *Ai* with the feminine article prefixed, means literally 'the rain', and though one occasionally hears other words used as the equivalent of God, e. g. *Parmasis* and *Parsai*, there is no other word for rain.

To the Masai eng-Ai is of much the same general pattern as the sky-god, e. g. Zeus, was to the ancients. Joseph Thomson<sup>1</sup> states that their conception of the deity, whom he called *Ngai*, was marvellously vague, and that whatever struck them as strange or incomprehensible they at once assumed had some connexion with *Ngai*. Thus, his lamp was *Ngai*, he himself was *Ngai*, *Ngai* was in the steaming holes, and his house in the eternal snows of Kilima Njaro. But Thomson was incorrect. It is conceivable that the Masai alluded to him, to his lamp, or to the steaming holes as e-'ng-Ai or le-'ng-Ai, i. e. *of God*, as this is the only term they have, so far as I am aware, to express anything supernatural or sacred. Sickens, grass, the only active volcano in Masailand, can all be, and indeed are, referred to as e-'ng-Ai or le-'ng-Ai, according to the gender of the substantive which precedes the expression. 'God gave us cattle and grass,' the Masai say, 'we do not separate the things that God has given us.' Cattle are sacred, and grass is consequently also sacred, i. e. it is *of God*. The volcano which Thomson and others called Donyo *Ngai* is known to the Masai as Ol-doinyo le-'ng-Ai, the Mountain of God, or the sacred mountain. I am glad to see that in the newest maps the change in orthography has been made.

That eng-Ai is personified is apparent from the prayers given in my book,<sup>2</sup> which are all authentic, as well as in the forms of blessing and cursing. In one instance, it will be remembered, it is said: 'The God to whom I pray and He hears.'

Eng-Ai can also be used to express the sky or heavens, but the Masai equivalent for clouds, fog, cold, &c., may also be used in this sense. 'Heaven' in the expression 'Heaven help you' would be translated by eng-Ai, whilst *ing-atambo*, the clouds, would be required in a sentence like 'The heavens are overcast.'

## 14

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE PRINCIPAL  
NATIVE TRIBES OF SOUTH AMERICA

BY J. H. GYBBON SPILSBURY. (ABSTRACT)

THE subject-matter of this paper is the result of over thirty years' residence and travel among the chief indigenous tribes of South America, supplemented by constant research among the old writings of the Jesuit Fathers and historians of the Conquest. I have been

<sup>1</sup> *Through Masailand.*<sup>2</sup> *The Masai.*



very careful to discriminate between traditions anterior to the arrival of the Spaniards and those influenced by subsequent Christian teaching, and even to eliminate all myths which may appear doubtful.

As the subject is very vast, I have been obliged to confine my remarks to the following points: (1) The idea of God; (2) Worship; (3) The Existence of the Soul and a future state; (4) The Deluge; closing with a few myths concerning the creation of the moon, and the re-peopling of the earth.

It is necessary also at the very outset to make a sharp line of demarcation between the civilized and organized nations at the time of the Conquest, and those which were still in a savage and barbarous state. The former comprise the vast empire of the Incas, which extended from Ecuador to Chile, the Muiscas of Colombia, the Guaranis of South Brazil, and the Caras of Ecuador. To the latter belong the numerous tribes of the Gran Chaco, the Indians of the Pampas and of Patagonia, the Onas and Yahgans of Tierra del Fuego, the Araucanos of Chile, the Brazilian Tupis and Botocudos, and the vast tribes of the Amazonian districts.

### I. THE IDEA OF GOD

It is now generally acknowledged that the conception of one Great Spirit, the Creator of all things, was universally spread among the aboriginal tribes, both civilized and barbarous, which inhabited the vast continent of South America.

But while recognizing the existence of this conception of a God, it is extremely difficult to arrive at a complete knowledge of how far this idea influenced the lives of the peoples, and to what practical results it attained. Too far have the simple conceptions of these primitive men been moulded and twisted by both traveller and missionary, until they have emerged under a more definite shape, strongly tinged by preconceived religious beliefs and modes of thought.

And this difficulty is still further increased by the fact that there are found but few practical results of this belief in a God, even among the more civilized nations of the Incas, the Muiscas, and the Caras, although the whole polity and social existence of these three empires were based upon a religious foundation.

The Supreme God whom they all acknowledged as the Universal Creator was, to them, a far-off Being, unable to be understood, too majestic, too just to be influenced by the desires or aspirations of men; so that their real worship was offered to representatives of the Supreme One, or to attributes of his goodness.

The Incas called this shadowy being Pachacamac, Creator of the World, a name borrowed from an older civilization of the Yungas,

whose monumental temples they appropriated and used for the worship of Ynti, the Sun, as representative of Pachacamac. Garcilaso de la Vega is more careful to prove that his ancestors considered Pachacamac as an unknown, unrepresentable god, whose name they never uttered without extending the palms of the hand upwards.

The primitive apostle of the Muiscas, named Bochica, taught them to believe in a Supreme Being, of whom they were forbidden to make any figure. Their worship was directed to natural objects, and their country teemed with sanctuaries and temples, filled with idols, whom they invoked as intercessors before the great God.

The same idea of God existed among the savage tribes. The Araucanos, for example, believed in an immaterial God, whom they called *Huillthuembo*, creator of the universe. But their worship was directed to two of his attributes, viz. Almighty Power (called *Huill-papilbo*) and Eternity (*Mollquechigeln*).

The Chiquitos of the Gran Chaco acknowledged the Creator under the name of Omequeturiqui, to whom they gave no form or shape, but their worship was offered to his son Urasana, whom they represented under the form of an ugly, misshapen dwarf.

## II. WORSHIP

Among the uncivilized tribes, worship was of the most elementary form, and the offerings of the simplest kind or most easily obtained: grains of maize, leaves of coca, feathers of birds, strangely shaped stones or pebbles, a mouthful of smoke, teeth or claws of animals, a lock of hair, &c.

But as worship was made more elaborate, not only were offerings multiplied in quantity, but their character was gradually changed, and they took rough symbolical forms, and were coupled with sacrifices of indigenous animals and birds. If we except the Caribs of the northern shores, who came from the Western Isles, and a few tribes of the Amazonian watershed, who had also migrated from the same islands, we find no traces that human sacrifices were offered to their gods. Human sacrifices were only employed to celebrate a victory over public enemies.

And in this respect we are now able to clear the character of the enlightened Incas from the imputation of this stain, due to the apocryphal accounts of some of the Jesuit Fathers of the sixteenth century. The first Spaniard who ascribes to the Incas the use of human sacrifices was Cieza de Leon, in the second part of his *Crónica del Perú*; but he only obtained the information second hand from a rather doubtful passage in a work written by Santa Cruz de Pachacuti, who spoke only of rejoicings for a victory; and this error has been



copied in a modified form by Montesinos and Santillan, without any attempt to prove the assertion.

Among most tribes of savage Indians, even to within the last thirty years, the principal worship was offered to Gualichu, the Spirit of Evil, to keep him in a good temper and induce him not to annoy them.

### III. THE EXISTENCE OF THE SOUL AND A FUTURE STATE

The hope of immortality was general among all the tribes of South America, who had, however, no definite idea of rewards or punishments. The present life was to be continued, only under different and happier conditions. Hence arose the general custom of preserving or embalming the body; as also, in accordance with that belief, they placed within reach of the dead such articles of food, arms, or implements as would be suitable for the immediate necessities of the life in the 'happy regions'.

Cremation was almost unknown, except on the victims of war.

Among many tribes, the body, when embalmed, was bent into the position of a babe in the womb, and was then wrapped in rich and costly garments or skins; or among the poorer, encased in huge straw mats, or in clay coverings and then buried in caves or *huacas*. Garcilaso de la Vega, writing in the year 1560, affirms that in the house of Polo Ondegardo in the city of Cuzco, he saw the mummies of three Incas, Huirakcocha, Tupac Inca Yupanqui, and Huayna Kcapac, with two queens, so well preserved that they lacked neither hair nor eye-lashes. Cieza de Leon relates that the Chiriguanos, an important tribe of the Pilcomayo, after doubling up the body like the Incas, encased it in a clay pot, with a movable lid also made of clay.

As another consequence of their belief in a future state of like character to the life on earth, we find the custom of sacrificing upon the tomb llamas and dogs for the chase, and of slaves and attendants to wait upon their masters. At times also wives were sacrificed in like manner. Montesinos says that on the death of the Inca Huayna Kcapac, more than four thousand people voluntarily offered themselves as victims on his tomb.

### IV. TRADITIONS OF THE DELUGE

Myths of the deluge are abundant, but all have special local features, which are a proof of their authenticity.

The Inca tradition speaks of a deluge of water which rose up from the plains to near the summit of the highest peaks of the Andes, washing away the abodes of men, as a punishment for their wickedness. In the region of Lake Titicaca, seven persons took refuge in

a large cave, in which they found many animals had sought for safety. When the waters receded, the seven persons came forth and re-peopled the whole earth. Various myths and legends are to be found bearing on the same subject.

But the natives of South America not only believed these traditions of the deluge, but they also asserted that the rainbow was a sign that the earth would not be again destroyed by water. Balboa in his *Miscellanea Antarctica* relates that Manco Kcapac, the founder of the Inca dynasty, on coming forth from Lake Titicaca with his wife Mama Oello, 'journeyed on until a mountain, now called Guana-cauri, presented itself to their view, when on a certain morning they beheld the rainbow rising above the mountain, with one extremity resting upon it. Immediately Manco Kcapac turned to his companion and said: "This is a propitious sign that the earth will not be again destroyed by water."'

Among many tribes, this influence of the rainbow is explained physically, by asserting that the two extremities of the bow rested on the waters, and by their weight prevented them from rising above a special level.

The Tupis and Guaranis also have legends relating to the deluge and the rainbow, while sundry interesting myths of the Botoendos, and other kindred tribes of Brazil, treat of the creation of the moon, and the re-peopling of the earth after the deluge.

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## VESTIGES OF TOTEMISM IN THE MALAY PENINSULA

BY W. W. SKEAT. (ABSTRACT)

THE descriptive ethnologist, as distinguished from those who are working at the comparative side of the subject, is confronted with certain difficulties arising from the (perhaps inevitable) incompleteness of theoretic formulæ. I have endeavoured to show, in this paper, what some of these difficulties are in the case of Totemism, the incomplete and divergent theories about which render the task of classifying an important section of native beliefs more than usually perplexing.

In order to deal with this, one of the chief problems with which I am faced, I have attempted to construct, out of the writings of Andrew Lang and other authorities, a working idea of Totemism,



in relation to what I may call its pre-totemistic elements, which would serve my turn for the purposes of classification. At the same time, since I have stated in *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* that there is no totemism among the Semang, I have necessarily to consider the question of kinless totemism, recently attributed to the Semang of the Malay Peninsula by Mr. Laurence Gomme; and though there are difficulties in the way of accepting that attribution, there are also several important considerations which complicate the general question, and lead me to ask, not what constitutes true totemism, but what are the relative status and sequence of the elements of which it is composed. I do not suggest that the practice of relying upon a pretended kinship with animals, plants, or things, for the protection or help of their *mana*, or for strategic or other purposes, should be provisionally classed as totemism; but I wish to know whether some broad classificatory scheme cannot be formulated, in which all the instances of transcendental relations between men and animals, at least, will be equally considered, and whether particular practices under such a scheme should be classified as resulting from totemism itself, or from ideas eventually interwoven with the totemic system—as modern representatives of an archaic stratum of beliefs, from which the totem system, as we know it, has sprung.

The first and naturally the most important question is:—Of what do the foundations of the totemic idea really consist? Andrew Lang's work supplies the answer. In formulating his hypothesis as to the origin of totemism, in the *Secret of the Totem*, he regarded it as having sprung, partly from the naming of savage societies, and partly from a species of 'natural exogamy'. 'We guess that for the sake of distinction, groups gave each other animal and plant names. These became stereotyped, we conjecture, and their origin was forgotten. The belief that there must necessarily be some connexion between animals and men of the same names led to speculation about the nature of the connexion. The usual reply was that men and animals of the same name were akin by blood. The kinship *with animals* being particularly mysterious was particularly sacred. From these ideas arose tabus, and among others that of totemic exogamy.' Hence Mr. Lang postulates (1) a group animal name of unknown origin, (2) belief in a transcendental connexion between all bearers of the same name, and (3) belief in the blood superstitions (the 'mystically sacred quality of the blood as life'); these were all that was needed to 'give rise to all the totemic creeds and practices, including exogamy'.

This is as clear and definite a description of totemism conceived as at a certain stage of development, as we are likely to see. Yet it is perhaps not unfair to ask whether Mr. Lang has, in this instance, pushed his arguments to their fullest legitimate conclusions. What

he seems to imply, though he does not actually say so, is that totemism is not, as it were, an elemental product of the human mind, insusceptible of further analysis, but rather of the nature of a conglomerate. If this is his view, it seems impossible to take exception to it. If, however, exogamy and tabus 'grew out of' the aforesaid elements, there must have been, at some point or other, a pre-exogamic stage of totemism. But, as we have seen, Mr. Lang's true position is that there was an early tendency to marry out, existing prior to the tabu arising from the superstitions engendered by these names. In other words natural exogamy preceded totemism. We must therefore suppose that Mr. Lang is thinking, in these two passages, of two different kinds of exogamy, the one natural, the other a formally recognized institution.

Again, Lang's rare and valuable hint, in *Social Origins*, that there is nothing necessarily religious about early forms of totemism, shows that a belief in the 'mystically sacred quality of the blood as life' is also a later element. Several considerations confirm this. 'Conceptional ignorance' would surely be opposed, *toto caelo*, to the order of things that a recognized kinship would establish, and hence would point back to pre-totemistic times. In the Malay Peninsula these traditions are strikingly strong and significant, including legends of children born in various impossible ways, the legend of the advice given by the monkey and the dove to the first parents of the race, of the Semang women whose only spouse was the evening wind, and so forth. Even the formal avoidance, by the mother-in-law, of her daughter's husband may belong to the pre-, or at least proto-totemistic stage, since their relationship did not come within the scope of the prohibited degrees. Besides, there is pre-totemic exogamy already mentioned. Hence belief in kinship must be a later development of the totemic era, and this would bring us by a different chain of argument to the kinless totemism of Mr. Gomme.

As to the two elements not yet considered, it seems more reasonable to suppose that belief in a transcendental connexion between all bearers of the same name could lead to group animal names than vice versa, since for the former sequence of development there is adequate reason, for the latter there is not. What has not been shown us, is (as Mr. Marett has kindly pointed out) how the 'magic of the name' could lead on to the 'one sacred blood'. All that is clear is that if there was at an early stage among a number of human groups, any general practice of giving each other animal names, this can only have been due to some clear motive acting throughout all the groups. Food and fighting-power, got by working on anthropomorphic or 'heteromorphic' principles, would be two of the most likely objects, and as such should be considered. Leaving,



therefore, this question to be decided by others, and merely remarking that if this were so, it would leave the case of the belief in a transcendental connexion between men and animals alone to be dealt with, we come to the fact that beliefs of this kind are open to consideration from two points of view, i.e. from the anthropomorphic, and the heteromorphic.

This cleavage of ideas actually occurs in the savage mind. Some men mimic beasts and even eat them to acquire their qualities; others mimic them with the idea of deceiving even the game itself. Many trains of thought might lead them to assume the names of animals, in order to set up, as it were, a make-believe kinship with them, just as the Dogrib Indian in deer-stalking, or the ostrich hunter, for a similar purpose, adopts the disguise of his intended victim's head and skin. This tendency to adopt a make-believe kinship with animals would be combined, no doubt from the earliest times, with the growing practice of expelling the younger males from the family dwelling, formal exogamy based on kinship would follow, and thus by gradual stages the various elements of totemism would be built up.

To sum up, Mr. Lang has told us what are the elements of the complex of which totemism is composed, and we may accept it as a fact that at this point, which he has defined for us, totemism splits into its component parts. Anterior and subsequently to this there are, of course, totemistic elements, but they are not blended into the form of totemism. What is important for us to know is: in what relation to each other, to totemism itself, and to other allied beliefs do these elements of totemism stand? What are we to say of the relation between totemistic beliefs and the belief in the embodiment of dead ancestors in certain animals? And what of the affinity between a man (i.e. an individual man) and a species, if the man hands on the cult to his descendants? Wherein does it differ *at the outset* from a similar affinity, in the case of which the man does not hand on the cult?

With regard to the classification of beliefs bearing on savage ideas of a transcendental connexion between men and animals, we must take into account the fact that savage races regard various species of animals almost as if they were neighbouring tribes: thus African natives told Livingstone that they 'looked on cattle as human, and living at home like men'. The Malay accounts are even more strikingly complete. To them the tigers are human beings who assume, for purposes of their own, the tiger's shape, and who have, moreover, in various parts of the Peninsula (Mount Ophir, for instance) settlements of their own; the houses of which have their framework of human bones, covered over with human skin, and are thatched with women's hair. They even have a chief who, unlike his followers, never adopts

what may be called the tiger disguise, but always appears in his own shape as a man. They are, besides, credited with having established a regular form of government, and are believed to be under an injunction, or 'curse' which prevents them from taking the life of any of their human neighbours, unless it has been 'given them'. The fulfilment of this condition they are driven to ascertain by means of divination, for which purpose they 'gaze' at a leaf until, in the event of their desire being granted, it takes the shape of their proposed victim, minus the head.

Here I may remark in passing that any Malay of the old school, now fast disappearing, who sought a human victim or proposed to engage in any other at all important or hazardous enterprise, would be sure to employ divination in some one of the many forms in which it is known to him. The avoidance of the word 'tiger', and the substitution for it of such titles as 'Chief of the Forest' or 'Grandfather of the Forest', &c., by Malays passing through the jungle, as well as the language of the charms used against tigers, and the practice of craving the tiger's forgiveness when a trap has to be set to catch him, are facts that all point in the same direction. Space fails me to describe in equally full detail the Malay point of view with regard to other animals. It will perhaps suffice to say that these tiger-beliefs are not in any way exceptional, that there is an Elephant-city, for instance, just as there is a city of the tigers; and that the rhinoceros, crocodile, wild deer, wild hog, and dog, among animals, and wild pigeon among birds, are all strong examples of the power and extent of the anthropomorphic idea among the Malays. Thus the invitation of the deer wizard to the wild stag and doe, the former of whom he addresses as a 'Crown Prince' with his 'Speckled Princess', to enter the toils runs as follows: 'If you wish for bracelets and rings, stretch forward your forefeet.' And the conjuration of the wild pigeon is a wonderful blending of the two standpoints:

Let those which have eggs leave their eggs,  
And those which are blind come led by others,  
And those which have broken limbs come on crutches.

The birds are invited to assemble in the 'entrance-hall of King Solomon', no imaginary place but the conical leaf-hut of the decoyer; and three different kinds of pigeon are addressed respectively as the Queen, a Princess, and their Handmaid. The anthropomorphic ideas of the Malays with regard to the rice-plant have been dealt with by Mr. Frazer with such erudition and exhaustive wealth of illustration, that I need do no more than mention them here. Suffice it to say that the birth of the Rice-Child, or Rice-Soul, is simulated in the field, the first seven ears taken from the mother-sheaf (which represent it) being laid in a small basket-cradle, and taken home under the shade of an umbrella



to the house, where it is received as if it were a new-born infant. Anthropomorphic ideas similarly extend to fruit-trees; of which the best examples are perhaps the *durian* and the coco-nut-palm. It now only remains to mention inanimate objects, and the personality attributed to these comes out with convincing clearness in the following lines, taken from charms addressed to the grains of tin-ore underground.

'Peace be unto you, Tin-ore! Come forth from this matrix of solid rock! If you do not come forth, you shall be rebels in the sight of God.' This is no solitary case, for elsewhere we have 'Assemble yourselves together, Rice-grains and Spinach-seed, Tobacco-seed, Millet, and Wild-ginger-seed. [All these are allusions to the different shapes and sizes of the tin-grains.] If ye do not assemble yourselves together, I shall curse you; you shall be turned into dust, into air, you shall be turned into water!' It is obvious even from the foregoing examples—and many more are available—that there are degrees of anthropomorphism as well as of heteromorphism, if we look at them from the native standpoint; and the matter would repay further investigation. The beliefs about the tiger, for instance, must not be considered without reference to the were-tiger beliefs, as to which the convictions of the Malay up-country peasant are held with remarkable tenacity.

Witness Mr. Hugh Clifford on this point: 'The Malay knows it is true. Evidence, if it be needed, may be had in plenty; the evidence, too, of sober-minded men, whose words in a court of justice would bring conviction to the most obstinate of jurymen, and be more than sufficient to hang the most innocent of prisoners. The Malays know well how Haji Abdullah, the native of the little state of Korinchi in Sumatra, was caught naked in a tiger-trap, and purchased his liberty at the price of the buffaloes he had slain while he marauded in the likeness of a beast. They know of the countless Korinchi men who have vomited feathers, after feasting upon fowls when for the nonce they had assumed the form of tigers, and they know, too, of those other men of the same race who have left their garments and trading packs in thickets, whence presently a tiger has emerged.'

This may be paralleled in England; for if we go back three centuries, we find cases in which animals, such as pigs and rats, were solemnly charged, tried, and even executed, for causing the death of human beings.

Even an analysis of the beliefs and practices of totemism itself (as formulated by so great an authority as Dr. Frazer), will give us the two main classes (of belief and practice) already indicated. Under the first of these (the anthropomorphic), the totem is treated as a member of the kin; under the second, the kin affects characteristics of the

totem—dresses like it, perhaps even assumes its name, and so forth. Again, should the Irish seal-clan, the were-wolves of Ossory and elsewhere, and the Malay and Semang were-tigers, be classified, or not classified, with the pre-totemistic elements of what afterwards became totemism?

Looking at the matter from a purely native (e.g. Malay) standpoint, there seems to be no insuperable difficulty in the way of formulating a scheme which should include plants as well as animals, and with regard to inanimate objects, Mr. Hartland has shown, in his York address, that 'churinga' are believed to make the yams or grass-seed grow, as well as to scare animals or help to secure the game.

Examples, showing any characteristics of true totemism, already recorded from the Malay Peninsula, are few, and owing to the Malays being an immigrant race, the *disjecta membra* of the system are all that we find, the result being that (as Blagden has shown) mother-right only occurs in some districts, and exogamy in others. The examples are (1) that of the Rajas of Raman, forbidden to partake of the bamboo shoots whence they sprang, and the members of whose royal house were called by the names of certain vegetables, (2) the Malay tribe of hereditary bards sprung from foam vomited by a bull, (3) the Prince of Malacca who was saved from drowning by the *alu-alu* fish and the flower *gandasuli*. There is also the tradition of a Foam-born Princess who in some traditions enters into an exogamic alliance with the Bamboo Prince.

Coming to Mr. Gomme's suggestion as to the existence of kinless totemism among the Semang, this depends mainly on the statement made by Vaughan-Stevens, that the Semang named their children after plants. But Vaughan-Stevens, unchecked and uncorroborated, is not a safe authority for any fact of such importance, and in this particular instance, an analysis of over one hundred names, collected by myself tends to prove the contrary.

## 16

IN *Messiah Beliefs of the American Indians* MISS MARY ALICIA OWEN showed that whenever a nation or a tribe stands in desperate need of a deliverer, its agonized desire becomes in time idealized hope quickening into fervid expectation. Sometimes this hope takes the shape of a shamed remembrance of an unappreciated hero who has been martyred or driven away, and is thus expected to return in majesty as a god. Such were the culture-heroes Quetzalcoatl, Pachacamac-Viracocha, Glooscap, Hiawatha.



Not all the Indian Messiahs are culture-heroes and demigods. In many tribes a passionate patriot has arisen who, after long fasts and frenzied prayers, has come to consider himself a divinely appointed leader. This belief grows in strength with each successive vigil. His weaker brethren are hypnotized until they yield him a ready obedience. Such were Popé the Pueblo medicine-man, who headed a revolt against the Spaniards in 1680, the Peruvian Condorcanqui, the Delaware Pontiac, and other North American leaders; of whom the most recent have been Nakai-doklini the Apache, the Wanapum Smoholla, Squ-sacht-un, called by the whites John Slocum, among the Indians of Puget Sound, and the Paiute Wovoka, the Messiah of the Ghost-dance Religion. Many of these men have been greatly influenced by Christianity. It is for the good of the individual, the tribe, and the world at large, when the Messiah or teacher counsels patience, long-suffering, kindness, chastity, honesty, with a hope of better things in future to make the present endurable, instead of uttering the malevolent and brutish oracles of the old shamans.

**SECTION II**  
**RELIGIONS OF CHINA AND JAPAN**





## PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

By H. A. GILES

It is perhaps not too much to say that any attempt to deal satisfactorily with the history of religion in China and Japan has only become possible within comparatively recent years. The struggle with the written language of China used formerly to absorb so much of the student's time, that his career was often finished before he had leisure to make practical use of the vehicle he had so laboriously acquired. Place-names, personal names, plant-names; dates, sometimes cyclical and sometimes dynastic; and especially, bewildering allusions to incidents and episodes in history, poetry, and general literature, often of the vaguest and most shadowy description; all these were formerly insuperable barriers to rapid advance in any given direction.

But times are changing; and the student has now at his control a variety of works, the consultation of which enables him to pass lightly over ground where his predecessors would have been arrested at every step. It is true that before research of any kind can be attempted, the student is still faced with the difficulty of acquiring an adequate knowledge of the written language; no mean task in itself, but a trifle compared with the labour which, as indicated above, confronted the pioneers of Chinese studies in early days.

The same is true of Japanese studies. Professor Revon, whose absence here to-day is a matter of sincere regret, excuses the erroneous conclusions of a distinguished Japanese scholar on the ground that he had '*consacré sa vie à l'étude de la langue*,' and had not enjoyed leisure for comparative research.

We are now, however, in a better position than ever before, to pass from general to special studies; and it is extremely desirable that the student of the future, instead of wandering at random over the novel and deeply interesting field which Chinese literature opens to his gaze, should devote himself more and more to some particular route, the rough clearing of which has already been done for him in such a way that he may begin where his predecessor left off. We have reached a point in Chinese studies at which it may be said that only



by specialization can any further real progress be made. As an earnest of what can be done in the direction which particularly interests us at this Congress, I need only allude to the volumes already published of a monumental work, *The Religious System of China*, by Professor de Groot, of the University of Leiden.

At this date, we still cannot really be said to know anything at all of the origin of the Chinese people. Various surmises have from time to time been brought forward; and chief amongst these is the theory that Akkadia (mentioned in Genesis x. 10), the south-eastern division of ancient Babylonia, was the cradle of the Chinese race and the source of their marvellous civilization. The evidence, however, for this view can scarcely be said to convince, consisting as it does mostly of mere coincidences; and as such it has already been set aside by Professor Hirth in his recently published *Ancient History of China*, and by others among those best qualified to judge.

The origin of religion in China is equally hidden from us behind what has hitherto proved to be an impenetrable veil. In the very earliest records of Chinese civilization,—records which hand down the traditions of a still more remote and more dimly-outlined antiquity,—we find the Chinese people living under an established government, with advanced laws and institutions for their political and social well-being. It was not, however, only by judicial enactments and penalties that individuals were restrained from such courses as would operate against the common weal. It had been fully recognized for ages past that there was a Power, to whom evil of any kind was displeasing, and from whom punishment might be expected for any form of wrong-doing.

This Power was called *T'ien*, which also means sky, heaven; and it was represented in the pictorial script of primeval times by the rude figure of a man. It is not suggested that the idea of an anthropomorphic God preceded the idea of the sky in which He was placed; but merely that in the Chinese script the character for *T'ien* emphasized pictorially the sense of God rather than that of sky, the latter being nevertheless the original meaning of the spoken word *T'ien*, and still the more common meaning of the two, further extended in colloquial to a revolution of the sky, signifying the period of a day, and even to the weather. An earlier symbol for the visible heavens, belonging to the days of pictorial writing, but now no longer in use, is said to have been three horizontal lines.

The personality of *T'ien* was extremely vague, and may be compared with that of Jehovah of the Old Testament, the God of Gods of the Psalms. We may continue the parallel by saying that just as

evil was displeasing, so was good acceptable to *T'ien*. Human conduct received its due reward; to quote the actual words of the Canon,

The way of God (*T'ien*) is to bless the good, and punish the bad.

With the due ordering of the seasons, the insistence on right conduct between man and man, and the punishments and rewards to be meted out, the functions of *T'ien* seem to have begun and ended. There is no suggestion that *T'ien* called the universe into being, though associated in another sense with *Ti*, earth,—‘the bridal of the earth and sky,’—in the constant renewal of animal and vegetable life; nor is it suggested that *T'ien* had anything to do with the appearance of the human race, or claimed any love or gratitude, or even reverence, beyond the fear inspired by the swift and open punishment of evil-doers. Cases of cruelty and injustice on the part of *T'ien* were from time to time recorded; but, generally speaking, if a man led a moral life, he needed not to concern himself with this Power, unless indeed some particular favour were required, in which case sacrifice and prayer would be called into requisition. Burnt offerings were freely made; and a recent writer has endeavoured to show, with much plausibility, that the candle lighted at the modern shrine is but a survival of the victim's fat.

It is not indeed clear that in the earliest ages there was any notion of a place of departed spirits, though the spirits enjoyed honour and worship at the hands of their descendants. The idea of a heaven was a later development. Neither does it appear that there was any Evil One, envious of the power of God, or desirous of tempting the human race away from the path of rectitude. The personality of the Devil is foreign to Chinese ideas on the subject of sin.

After a certain interval of time,—how long a time we cannot say,—this simple monotheism underwent an extraordinary change. *T'ien*, God, came to be called by another name, and was invested under the new title with a more marked personality, which hitherto had been wanting; thus bringing Him into a closer relationship with mankind. There were in fact two Gods,—who were still One,—a Duality in Unity,—two Persons but one substance. The new conception was called *Ti* or *Shang Ti*, the Supreme Ruler. His anthropomorphic nature was more strongly accentuated than that of *T'ien*. He enjoyed the flavour of sacrifices, was pleased with music and dancing in His honour, took sides in warfare, walked and talked, and thus satisfied the aspirations of the Chinese people for contact, so to speak, with a more personal God. Yet these two Persons were actually one and the same; the more abstract *T'ien*,



God Passive, and the more concrete *Shang Ti*, God Active, are really, according to Chinese interpretation, one indivisible Power, in which two separate and distinct Personalities co-exist. In the Canon of Filial Piety, *T'ien* is made to rank above *Shang Ti*; but practically the status of the two Persons is equal.

The Chinese conception of God has taken several forms in addition to the original anthropomorphism which prevailed in the earliest ages. God has been understood to mean precisely that mysterious agency personified in the West as Nature. As such, He is often called *Tsao Hua*, the Maker-Transformer, and He is occupied, as in the case of *T'ien*, already mentioned, in the production and development of all terrestrial life, animal and vegetable. Yet, even to this Power—scarcely a Being—human attributes are irresistibly assigned. Thus we read,

God (*Tsao Hua*) does not work in winter, but stops the machine by which all created things are produced.

It is often said, and with much reason, that the Chinese have not very marked religious instincts; still, many Chinese are shocked by the absence of a reverential attitude towards the Unseen. Among the surnames of the Chinese we find the word *T'ien*, God, just as in Portugal, for instance, the word Jesus is familiarly employed as a name. At least two individuals, eminent enough to be mentioned in the Dynastic Histories, have possessed this name; from which it is fair to infer that there have been many, of whom there is no record. In A. D. 1117 a Censor memorialized the Throne, that it should be forbidden in future to use the term 'God' as a surname. He obtained a favourable Rescript; but not much attention seems to have been paid to it, for again in 1506 we find a similar application. I am unable to say if the surname is still in use in China or not.

The monotheism, of which the above gives but a faint outline, comprises really all the religion which supplied the spiritual needs of the Chinese people in early ages. What worship there may have been of the sun, moon, and stars, of the deities of hill and stream, and even of ancestors, consequent perhaps upon the development of *Shang Ti*, seems to have gradually clustered around the monotheistic stem. But on most of these points we are still imperfectly informed; the vast masses of Chinese literature on this subject remain to be scientifically explored.

And so things went on until the advent of Confucius, five and a half centuries before the Christian era. Confucius, though amply recognizing a Supreme Power of some kind, declared plainly that God merely required man to do his duty towards his neighbour, and that

with such a consummation He would rest completely satisfied. Confucius positively discouraged any attempt to deal with the problem of a future state; and it may fairly be said that the modern agnosticism of the educated classes in China is entirely due to the teachings of the Sage, reinforced later on by those of his great disciple, Chu Hsi (twelfth century A.D.). In one passage the latter uses language which will not bear misconstruction:—

The blue empyrean, which we call *T'ien*, and which revolves unceasingly, is that and nothing more. To declare, as people do, that it contains a Being, who awards punishment for crimes, is impossible; such statements are without authority, and there is no evidence to that effect.

It is, however, a mistake—and one which I have made myself—to think that Chu Hsi denied altogether the existence of an unseen Power. When speaking of the occurrence of the term *T'ien* in the Confucian Canon, he says that—

it must sometimes be interpreted as the sky, sometimes as a *Chutsai*, a Ruler or Governor, and sometimes as a principle.

And in another place he says that all unseen powers or influences may be gathered under the heading *T'ien*. To one who asked him if there was any return after death, he replied categorically,

When we go, that is all; how can matter which has once been dissipated, ever be brought together again?

It is interesting to note that the term employed by Confucius for God was the older one, *T'ien*.

He who offends against *T'ien*, has none to whom he can pray.

I do not murmur against *T'ien*; I do not grumble against man. My studies are here below; my thoughts mount upwards.

I can only discover one instance in which *Shang Ti* is put into the mouth of Confucius, though as editor of the Odes he must have found it in constant use.

Meanwhile, many philosophers and others had begun to speculate on the very problem which Confucius had set aside as beyond the province of mankind, and also on the question of man in relation to the Universe.

Among the most curious of the documents which have been handed down to us, is a poem of the fourth century B.C., in which the writer, Ch'ü P'ing, asks a number of questions about the Universe and its traditions, leaving the reader to find the answers for himself. The poem opens thus:—



At the beginning of antiquity, who was there to hand down the story ?

When heaven and earth were without form, who examined and found them so ?

When matter was without form, how could it be recognized ?

How were the periodical changes of light and darkness brought about ?

The nine layers of the round sky,—who has measured them ?

By whose skill were they constructed ?

Where is the sky joined to the earth ? and who divided out the twelve signs of the zodiac ?

How are the sun and moon fastened on ? how are the stars laid out ?

What virtue is there in the moon, by which it dies and is born again ?

With reference to the arrangement of the heavens in nine layers, one above the other, it may be interesting to recall the Ptolemaic system of the universe, as set forth to the Chinese people so late as 1614 by Emmanuel Diaz, the famous Jesuit missionary. The learned Father, in a diagram which has survived, placed the earth in the middle of twelve concentric circles or layers, each of which was appropriated to the orbit of some planet, to the twenty-four zodiacal constellations, &c. The fourth layer, for instance, was assigned to the Sun ; and the twelfth, which, we are told,

remains ever motionless, while all the others revolve, was labelled,

Heaven, the abode of God, and of all His angels and saints.

The views of Chuang Tzŭ (third century B. C.), the leading philosopher of the Taoist or Mystic school of thought, are interesting as exhibiting a by-path into which the ancient monotheism was diverted. To Chuang Tzŭ, *T'ien*, God, became a mere abstraction,—Unity, which he describes as

the Centre at which all Infinities converge, and where Positive and Negative alike blend into One.

God is the source of life, and to that source all life sooner or later returns. We are not the arbiters of our own fortunes.

Suppose, says Chuang Tzŭ, that the boiling metal in a smelting-pot were to bubble up and say, Make of me an Excalibur ; I think the caster would reject that metal as uncanny. And if a sinner like

myself were to say to God, Make of me a man, make of me a man, I think He too would reject me as uncanny. The universe is the smelting-pot, and God is the caster. I shall go whithersoever I am sent, to wake unconscious of the past, as a man wakes from a dreamless sleep.

Again, in the words of Chuang Tzū,

The ultimate end is God. He is manifested in the laws of Nature. He is the hidden spring. At the beginning, He was.

Hsün Tzū, a so-called heterodox writer of the third century, has a good deal to say about *T'ien*, God, and His attributes. He is one of those philosophers who, as before mentioned, identify God to a great extent with the creative and regulative physical Force which we call Nature, and which we commonly personify as a female being. With Hsün Tzū, God is a Power working upon eternal lines, without reference to good or evil, and sending rain upon the just and the unjust alike; the difference being that the man who responds obediently to Nature's laws will find himself better off in the end than the man who acts in opposition to these laws.

When meteors fall, says Hsün Tzū, or when trees shriek, the people are all afraid, and ask, What are these things? I say that they are nothing,—nothing more than phenomena incidental to the ordinary operations of Nature, at which we may be astonished, but not frightened.

Chang Tsai, a philosopher of the eleventh century, who wrote a work on the *Theory of the Universe*, has some interesting remarks bearing on his conception of the Deity. Here are four short examples:—

The inscrutable part of God is His Divinity; and it is because this Divinity is everlasting that He is God.

God never speaks, yet we trust Him; the spirits are never angry, yet we fear them. This is because God is perfectly sincere, and the spirits are entirely just.

God's knowledge of this world does not reach Him by ears, eyes, or mind; yet it is more profound than if ears, eyes, or mind were employed.

God is immanent in all things without exception, just as the principle of goodness is immanent in all affairs.

The idea that God is above us, in the sky, is one that has mostly prevailed in China, at any rate, before the time of Chu Hsi. Evidence of this may be gathered from many sources. The poet Yang 1



(A. D. 974-1030), when still a child, was taken up to the top of a pagoda, and was so impressed that he burst into verse, as follows:—

Upon this tall pagoda's peak  
My hands can nigh the stars enclose;  
I dare not raise my voice to speak,  
For fear of startling God's repose.

Another poet, Sung Po-jen of the twelfth century, wrote the following lines on seeing a boy fly a paper kite made in the form of the bird of that name:—

A bird, yet not a bird, it soars  
High up above the land,  
Its wind-borne movements to and fro  
Checked by a single strand . . .  
Ah, shame on me that this poor thing—  
While I cling to the sod—  
Held by the grip of a boyish hand  
Should rise so near to God!

However, in the search after God, carried on for so many centuries by Chinese philosophers, it is scarcely strange to find that He has been located where indeed Christ Himself placed the Kingdom of Heaven,—within the heart of man (St. Luke xvii. 21). Thus, the author of the *Pi ch'ou* says,

That azure sky is not God. God is an *aura*, which abides always in man's heart, and informs and influences all creation without cease. To seek for a God in the blue void above, is to be pragmatical; to ignore the God in your heart, is to be remiss. How in such case can God be expected to answer your prayers?

Then there is the well-known verse by the philosopher Shao Yung who flourished A. D. 1011-1077,

The heavens are still: no sound.  
Where then shall God be found? . . .  
Search not in distant skies:  
In man's own heart He lies.

This thought is traced by Professor Revon, in the last words of his exhaustive work on Shintoism, to a poem revealed in a dream to the Emperor Sēiwa (A. D. 859-876); but it is much more probable that Japan borrowed it from China.

Turning now to Japan, the student of the History of Religion has ample cause to congratulate himself on the clearances, so to speak, which have recently been effected by Professor Revon and Dr. Aston in their comprehensive and valuable works on Shinto. It is a small confession to make, that for many years I was unable to obtain any precise conception of the meaning of this term. Even those who

then made a close study of Shinto came to conclusions which must now be consigned to the limbo of the Inexact. Thanks to the labours of the two eminent scholars above-mentioned, and in spite of their divergence on certain more or less material points, we are now justified in making several assertions which it would have been impossible to make, with authority, a short generation ago.

Shinto, the Way of the Gods, is a primitive religion, in which magic plays a conspicuous part. It existed, in its earliest stages of development, without a name; and only so late as the sixth century of our era did it come to be known by the Chinese term *shên tao*, the Way of the Gods, to distinguish it from the Way of Buddha. We may dismiss the unsupported view that Shinto is a purely Chinese system, drawn at a comparatively late date from the Book of Changes and the *Tao Tê Ching*. The name, which, as I have said, is Chinese, was no doubt adopted by the Japanese, as being a well-known equivalent for the idea of 'religion,' in which sense, as well as in that of 'the black art,' &c., it has been used in Chinese literature.

The original Shinto was heavily loaded, so soon as a knowledge of Chinese philosophy began to spread in Japan, with cosmogonical and other notions which belong strictly to China; but Professor Revon seems to have made it clear that such notions were merely like grafts of tissue transplanted to another organism.

Shinto teaches morality, not perhaps of a very high order, but such as it would be reasonable to look for in association with a primitive religion. Monotheism seems never to have found a home in Japan, and is known only in connexion with Chinese studies; on the other hand, the sun and moon have been deified by the Japanese in a manner which finds no parallel in China. The number of gods recognized in Shinto extends to unthinkable figures. Shinto is not, and never has been, Ancestral Worship; neither does it hold out the promise of a life after death in a world to come.

Such are a few of the leading features of this interesting religion, which may now be fully studied in the writings of Dr. Aston and Professor Revon. I would conclude with a hope that some scholars may ere long come forward to deal with the various phases of the religions of China by the same exhaustive method as that adopted by those writers, and by Professor de Groot in his great work already mentioned.

Would it be profanation, if, in this particular University, beneath the shadow of which I was born, and where I imbibed the first elements of the two classical languages upon which I nourished a youth sublime,—would it, I say, be profanation if I were to suggest



that some of the annual batch of graduates in the Greek and Latin languages, in view of the comparative exhaustion of these spheres of research, should turn their attention to the almost virgin fields of Far Eastern literatures? The problems to be solved in that direction are many and interesting; the Chinese language, merely from the point of view of pure scholarship, is fascinating and absorbing in the extreme; and it has the undeniable advantage of being a living language, in daily use among about one-fifth of the human race. The Dynastic Histories of China, to which no one, not even a satirist, with or without reason, has ever applied such a contemptuous term as '*Graecia mendax*,' remain to be translated into some European tongue;—a gigantic task, upon which Professor Chavannes, of the Collège de France, has already made a beginning; but of which only a mere tithe could possibly be completed by any one worker.

And History is only a single branch of the giant tree of Chinese literature. The works of philosophers of various schools of thought, of poets, of writers on religion, on politics, on economics, on archaeology, and what not, crowd the shelves of an ordinary Chinese library; but these are not yet available in translations to the general reading public.

Finally, in this connexion I should like to recall with gratitude the labours of a famous Chinese scholar, to whom this University offered shelter in his declining years. Among those who have smoothed the path for future students of the History of Religion in China, and whose works have enabled them to attain to a point in scholarship which otherwise might have been long delayed, first and foremost, by the common consent of all, must be placed the honoured name of James Legge.

# THE CONNEXION BETWEEN TAOISM, CONFUCIANISM, AND BUDDHISM IN EARLY DAYS

BY H. J. ALLEN. (ABSTRACT)

THE antiquity of the Chinese race, prior to B.C. 200, has not been confirmed by contemporary records, and is quite untrustworthy. Their *literati* have always regarded the books of History and Poetry and their other classics with such reverence that it seems sacrilegious for them to doubt that they date from remote antiquity, or that the Emperors Yao, Shun, and Yü, whose date is put at about B.C. 2400, were not real personages; but the European student should look at these statements with a critical eye, and he will then perceive that all the stories contained in the classics are evidently fabulous. We obtain our earliest accounts from Ssüma Ch'ien; for, although he appears to be quoting from the book of History, his version is given in simpler language and was probably penned first. His work, completed about B.C. 98, was not published until fifty years later. In it we are informed that in the year B.C. 213, in obedience to an Imperial decree, all the ancient literature of China was destroyed by fire, except books treating of medicine, agriculture, divination, and the records of the Ch'in dynasty, and further excepting copies in charge of the Board of Erudite Scholars; but when ancient books were sought for, the Board in question does not seem to have been applied to, and the books were mysteriously discovered in holes in walls. The truth of the story has therefore been questioned, and it is more reasonable to suppose that as rewards were offered about B.C. 160 for the discovery of ancient books, persons would 'discover' many which had not previously existed. Again the historian does not supply fuller details of the records of the Ch'in dynasty than of those of the previous dynasty of Chou; and the strangest fact of all is that there are many lacunae in the history of the Han dynasty between B.C. 208 and 158, or only a few years before the historian's own time. But allowing for the moment that certain Confucian classics were, as alleged, discovered in a hole of a wall to the accompaniment of mysterious music, or, according to another account, repeated from memory by an old man named Hidden Scholar through the medium of an interpreter, there is nothing of the sort stated as to the discovery of religious books. Now the historian states that the reputed founder of the Taoist religion, Laotzü (old one, or man



of the Lao tribes), who lived, as Dr. Giles says, nobody knows when, was born in the village of 'Tortuous-benevolence', 'Cruelty' parish, 'Misery' district, 'Suffering' state, and that he was called *Li*-ear, Heavy-ear, Ear-without-rim, or Weighted ear; and in this connexion we know that the aboriginal *Li* tribesmen of Hainan wear weights in their ears, an old name for the island being *Tan-êrh* (Weighted Ears). Laotzŭ is stated to have written a book called the classic of the Virtue of the Way at the request of the Keeper of the pass Joy (*Kuan-yin-hsi*),—a name which if the last two characters are reversed is suspiciously like *Kuan-shi-yin* (*Avalôkitêshvara*); after which he departed, and it is not known where he died. It is added that as he attained longevity by cultivating *Tao* he might have lived to the age of 200, that he taught that by inaction one may be transformed, and that rectification results from the doctrines of purity and stillness. In the *Account of the Immortals* we read that Laotzŭ descended from heaven in the form of a white elephant and entered the womb of his mother, who gave him birth painlessly under the bough of a tree; but this legend is also told of the birth of Gautama Buddha. A few quotations from the *Tao-tê-ching* will show its Buddhistic style: e.g. 'The perfect man attains the condition of inaction, and follows the doctrine of silence.' 'Attain complete vacuity, and sedulously preserve a state of repose.' '*Tao* is eternally inactive, yet it leaves nothing undone.' 'Merit achieved (*Karma*) is not to be assumed, and not being assumed it will never leave.' 'The sage is free from self-display, and therefore he shines forth.' 'Desire not to desire, and you will not value things difficult to obtain.'

Chuangtzŭ, another 'Taoist' sage, represents Confucius in the classic of *Nanhua* as quoting from the *Tao-tê-ching*, and giving utterance to what are called Taoist views; and this fact seems to have puzzled the Sinologists. Mr. Lionel Giles says that Chuangtzŭ's philosophy to a certain extent 'resembles the Buddhist', and he thinks that by his time (usually put at 330 B.C.) Buddhism may have filtered into China, as 'we find in the Chinese philosopher such striking points of similarity to Brahmanism as can hardly be explained as mere coincidences of thought'. Mr. Giles, however, thinks it 'sheer audacity in Chuangtzŭ harnessing Confucius to his own doctrines', and doubts whether the latter spoke in that way at all. Dr. Giles speaks of the incident as a literary *coup de main*; but the Rev. Aubrey Moore, who wrote a long note to Dr. Giles's fine translation of Chuangtzŭ, considered that there was no hint of this in the text, and supposed that Laotzŭ and Confucius were nearer to each other philosophically than Chuangtzŭ and Mencius, their respective disciples, who are supposed to have lived 200 years later than their masters. Mr. Moore compared Chuangtzŭ to Heraclitus, and quoted sayings of the Greek



philosopher practically identical with those of Chuangtzu, yet he rejected the notion that the characteristics of Greek thought could be ascribed to Oriental influence. Now Chuangtzu says (ch. xiii), 'The *Tao* (law) of Heaven revolves ceaselessly, and all things are perfected'; and again, 'We are embraced in the obliterating unity of God. Take no heed of time, nor of right and wrong, but passing into the realm of the Infinite take your final rest therein.' Here we cannot help thinking of the doctrine of 'absorption into Buddha'.

I would draw attention to the expression '*Huang Lao yen*', usually rendered 'Words of Huangti and Laotzu', which Ssuma tells us the Empress Tou delighted in, circa B.C. 140. In the History of the After Han, chapter lxxii, we read, 'Ying, king of Ch'u, when young, liked to idle about with boon-companions, but later in life he reformed and delighted in *Huang Lao*. Learning to become *Fou-t'u* (a Buddhist), he fasted, abstained from animal food, and offered sacrifice.' Again the same historian in his 118th chapter says, after relating the story of the Emperor Ming's dream of the 'golden man', 'Ying, King of Ch'u, first believed in this doctrine, and so in the middle Kingdom there were some who became converts. Subsequently Emperor Huan (147-167 A.D.) approved of the divinity, and frequently sacrificed to *Fou-t'u Laotzu* (Buddha the Lao man), and as the people gradually became converts the religion spread considerably.' It is probable that Buddhist priests with yellow robes first came to China through the Lao country, and were therefore called 'Yellow Lao'. No doubt Ssuma met many of them in Western China.

Passing to Confucianism, Europeans find it hard to solve the secret of the extraordinary veneration now paid to Confucius. He is stated to have died lamenting that his doctrines made no headway, and not until 479 years after his death were special honours paid to his memory. His name means Father Hermit or Cave-dweller, and we may find a clue to his designation *Chung-ni* in the following passage from Commandant Bonifacy's book, *Groupes et langues du bassin de la rivière Claire*, 'They call spirits *Né*, the greatest is he of the Mone heaven, but he who intercedes for man is *Tchungne*.' Two years before he died it is recorded that Confucius was shown a strange animal, bearing on its single horn a piece of blue ribbon, which marked it as the same animal which appeared to his mother before the birth of the sage. He declared it to be a *ch'i-lin*, and this event so affected him that he forthwith wrote the annals of his state (*Ch'un ch'iu*), on which according to the book of Mencius he based his reputation. It has, however, been repeatedly pointed out that this book, which is the only one he is credited with having written, is merely a series of bald, uninteresting jottings without any expression of opinion, good or bad. The commentary, which imparts life to the



annals, and was written by a man named 'Help-Confucius-to-explain', —a name which appropriately describes the book—was not published until the first or second century B.C., and was revised by Liu-hsin B.C. 10, but its authority was not recognized till A.D. 99. At the same period also appeared the *Sayings of Confucius*, a book which has been 'ground and polished' by many different hands (see Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.*, i, Intr. 149). With regard to the *ch'i-lin* we find it recorded in Ssüma's history that a one-horned antelope, stated to be a *lin*, was caught in the year B.C. 122, and this fact was considered of sufficient importance to cause a six-year period to be named after the event. Now *Dzeren* is the Mongolian name for the yellow goat (*Procapra gutturosa*), and as *r* becomes *l* in southern Chinese, we have a fair approximation to the name. Still there is another antelope called *Chiru* (*Pantholops Hodgsonii*), which is sometimes seen with a single horn, the second horn being rudimentary or undeveloped (*Enc. Brit.*, ii. 101).

The *Works of Mencius* is not stated to have been one of the books found in a hole of the wall of Confucius's house. In my book, *Early Chinese History*, I have given reasons for concluding that *Mencius* was written during the Han dynasty. In that classic five kings of the Shang dynasty are mentioned by name; but M. Chavannes (*Mém. Hist.*, i, Intr. 139), says that he can only find that three or four of the twenty-eight kings of the dynasty actually lived, and it seems impossible to believe that all these kings possessed names consisting of an epithet and a cyclical character as Great-A. It may be observed that the *Miaotzü* call themselves *Méng* (Siamese *Muong*), so that *Méngtzü* may be rendered 'Man of the *Miaotzü* aborigines'.

In Ssüma's biography of Confucius we read that the sage went to school at 7, married at 19, and had one son; but these statements are also made about Gautama Buddha. The strangest coincidence is that both these founders of religion had drooping ears, and a bump on the summit of the cranium like a coiffure of flesh concave in the middle. Moreover, the date of Confucius's death is almost to a year the same as that of the Buddha.

In conclusion, it seems that the Chinese, like other nations, forged their old records. The *Tao-té-ching* has already been declared to be an impudent forgery compiled during the Han dynasty, and the religion known as Taoism appears from the evidence given to have been originally identical with Buddhism. The word *Tao* was used by the Buddhists to designate the eightfold path or moral law, and it is by this latter term that Mr. Ku-hung-ming translates *Tao* in his admirable rendering of the Confucian *Chung-yung* treatise. Confucian doctrines were partly based on the teachings of Buddhist monks who permeated China before B.C. 150, and there seems to be some ground

for the Chinese assertion that the three religions (Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism) are one.

Of the names found in the classics, *Yao* is a tribal name, *Hsia-hou* (lord of *Hsia*) and *Kung yü* ('tribute of *Yü*' reversed) are names of Han *literati*; *Po yü* or *Pa yi*, which occurs so frequently, is the name which the Chinese give to the Shans; and there are other names which refer to constellations. But this should not excite wonder, if we remember that the historian *Ssüma Ch'ien* reformed the calendar B.C. 104.

## 3

## THE DOCTRINE OF THE BODHISATTVA

By D. T. SUZUKI. (ABSTRACT)

IF we divide Buddhism into two great branches, as is done by Buddhist philosophers of the East, *Mahāyāna* and *Hinayāna*, the *Bodhisattvas* can be said to be the adherents of the *Mahāyāna*, while the *Çrāvakas* and *Pratyekabuddhas* stand for the *Hinayāna*. Though we do not yet know exactly how early in the history of Buddhism the conception of *Bodhisattvahood* came to be distinguished from that of *Arhatship* so prominently as to form a separate branch in the body of Buddhism, we notice in the *Saddharmapundarika* a definite classification made between the three *yanas*, that is, of the *Çrāvakas*, *Pratyekabuddhas*, and *Bodhisattvas*. (See Kern's English translation, p. 80.)

But we are not concerned here with the historical development of the idea of a *Bodhisattva* as characteristically *Mahāyānist*; let it suffice to remark that in the course of time, perhaps soon after the death of Buddha, Buddhist theologians began to conceive *Bodhisattvahood* to be the true goal of their religious disciplines and made it supersede that of *Arhatship*. Those who endorsed this view called themselves the followers of the Grand Vehicle, *Mahāyāna*, in contradistinction to those of the Small Vehicle, *Hinayāna*, who upheld the standard of *Arhatship* as the ultimate aim of the Buddhist life. Therefore, when we speak of the doctrine of the *Bodhisattvas*, we speak of the system of the *Mahāyāna* as a whole; they are almost identical in form as well as in contents; if we know what the *Bodhisattva* is, we know the heart of the *Mahāyāna* system. And as the ideal of *Bodhisattvahood* developed historically along the notion of *Arhatship* which composes the main point in the teaching of the *Hinayāna*, all the *Mahāyāna* writers in India and in the Far East naturally draw a comparison between the two conceptions and



emphasize the distinction in order to clearly delineate the outlines of Bodhisattvahood. It will not be out of place, therefore, to quote some of those statements here, and, though negatively, make them throw light on the essential nature of the Bodhisattvas. (See the *Sātralankāra*, Prof. Lévi's edition, pp. 4 sq.)

In the *Lankavatāra* which expounds Buddhism from the standpoint of the Yogacārya philosophy, Buddha is made to talk rather slightly of the fundamental motive of the *Śrāvakas* who illusively distinguish between Nirvāṇa and Samsāra as if they were essentially different, and seek after Nirvāṇa to free themselves from the sufferings of existence for their own selfish interests. The condemnation of the ideal of the *Śrāvakas* here is rather philosophic than religious. (See the Chinese translation of the *Lankavatāra* by *Çikṣānanda*; the *Tripitaka*, latest Jap. ed., series II, vol. i, fasc. 3, p. 244.)

From these statements we can somewhat negatively gather what would be the essential qualities of the Bodhisattva. But before proceeding further I wish to refer to another negative comparison drawn between the *Śrāvakas* and the Bodhisattvas. In the beginning of the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*, which forms the last book of the Chinese *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, the writer describes many miraculous phenomena that accompanied the preaching of the Buddha once at a pagoda of great magnificence in *Śrāvastī*, and states that these were, however, not at all perceived by the great *Śrāvakas*, such as *Çāriputra*, *Mahāmaudgalyāyana*, *Mahākāśyapa*, &c., who were present at this great religious assembly together with the Bodhisattvas.

In short, setting aside all the technical niceties contained in these statements, the plain logical conclusion we can draw from them is that the Bodhisattvas were able to see the miracles of all the Buddha-lands because they had fulfilled all the conditions of Bodhisattvahood, which, however, were not observed by the *Śrāvakas* owing to their inferior stock of good *karma* and their non-awakening of the heart of wisdom (*Bodhicitta*).

Now, what are the principal moral qualities of the Bodhisattvas? The Bodhisattvas have distinctly their own conception of the world, which forms the philosophical basis of their religion, the Mahāyāna Buddhism; but as we are not going to discuss this side of the question, let it suffice here to remark that the Buddhists, whether Mahāyāna or Hīnayāna, have never ignored the intellectual element of their faith, and have always made it clear that, however sentimental is the motive of religion, it has its intellectual side, which must be given its proper place in a system of faith.

What the Mahāyāna writers never grow tired of emphasizing, sometimes too much, in their *Sūtras* and *Çāstras*, is the significance of a disinterested, all-embracing, absolutely altruistic love for all beings,

sentient as well as non-sentient. This love is called *mahākaruṇā*, and made the ground-principle of all their thoughts, sentiments, and actions. Whatever they think, whatever they feel, however they behave—all must come out of their infinite love for all beings. They do not necessarily seek Nirvāṇa, the extinction of all their passions, they do not care so much for the deliverance from the pain of existence; if their own sufferings, the postponement of their final Nirvāṇa, or even their downfall into the bottom of Naraka, help one way or another to benefit their fellow beings, they do not shrink from bearing all the possible pains of the world upon themselves. They are bent on benefiting others, for others' sake, and not for their own interests. Their motto is *parārtha* and never *svārtha*, to benefit others and never to benefit themselves. In fact, these two interests are not contradictory, for while those who think of their own interests and pleasures are always suffering from their egoism and never find satisfaction in whatever they do, the Bodhisattvas, who endeavour to realize their selfhood in the interests of their fellow creatures, are always contented and at peace not only with themselves but with the world at large. (See Asaṅga's *Sūtrālamkāra*, Prof. Lévi's edition, pp. 18 sq.)

This virtue of self-effacement or self-sacrifice for the sake of other beings is everywhere in the Mahāyāna texts most highly recommended, and made the most essential qualification of the Bodhisattva. (See Nāgārjuna's *Treatise on the Bodhicitta* : Nanjio, No. 1304.)

This latter aspect of Bodhisattvahood as described by Nāgārjuna, that is, non-detachment from the passions, marks a very important departure from the ideal of Arhatship. For while the Hīnayāna Buddhists endeavour to free themselves from passions and attachments in order to escape their curse—which escape is their Nirvāṇa—the Bodhisattvas retain all their passions, sentiments, impulses, desires, aspirations, &c., which underlie the kaleidoscopic view of human life on earth. The philosophy of the Bodhisattva is : Nirvāṇa that can be attained by the extinction of all human sentiments is not the true one ; the passions themselves are no evils, in fact they do much good ; only let them be guided by a rational religious insight ; the wantonness of passion is due to one's ignorance of its true nature. As the lotus-flower grows from the mire and yet retains its purity, so let a man retain all his human sentiments and aspirations and make good use of them for the welfare of all his fellow creatures. That which conquers a passion is not a passionless state of mind, but another passion, greater, purer, and nobler. Let Nirvāṇa grow from the shadow of the passions human and earthly and bloom out in the sunshine of infinite love for all beings.

The whole trend of thought, here somewhat paradoxically stated, is that the seed of religious wisdom (*Bodhi*) grows only from the earthly



manure of human passions and sufferings ; and therefore that when the latter are detested or shunned for the sake of a dead, cold, heartless state of Nirvāna, the seed of *Bodhi* is burned to ashes, and, like the lotus-flower left in an arid region, the Bodhisattva loses altogether his vitality as a being full of love and compassion for the entire world. Bodhisattvahood is only possible in the world of birth and death, in the world of human afflictions and human hopes. The sentiment of love, or *Mahakaruna*, or infinite compassion for all beings, is not different in its essence from *kleṣa* such as avarice, anger, or infatuation. Only the Bodhisattva's sentiment moves on the pivot of disinterested love for all beings, sentient and non-sentient, and never for his own interest ; for he sacrifices even his own attainment of Nirvāna for the sake of benefiting the world at large.

The consideration of human passions as the bed in which grows the flowers of Buddhahood brings us to many interesting questions in the system of Mahāyāna, such as the 'awakening of Bodhicitta,' 'the doctrine of parināmana,' 'the power of pūrva-pranidhāna,' &c. ; but these must await further opportunities.

To sum up, the *raison d'être* of the Bodhisattva is his infinite love for all beings, to save them from suffering, to give them utmost happiness, to destroy the curse of ignorance that envelops all existence, to realize a Buddha-land in this world of *samsāra* and *kleṣa*, to spiritualize the meaning of existence by the purification, ennoblement, and enrichment of all the passions of which the human heart is capable.

## 4

## HŌNEN, THE PIETIST SAINT OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM

BY M. ANESAKI

THE development of religious faith in the thirteenth century exhibits some remarkable parallelisms in Japan and Italy. Just as St. Francis of Assisi marked an epoch-making phase of Christian religion in Europe, so our sage Hōnen is the man representative of the change worked out in Japanese Buddhism in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The spread of the teachings of Buddhism during the preceding centuries had inspired the people with aspirations for religious ideals and a demand for a deeper and everlasting faith. But the hierarchic institutions, however glorious and dignified they appeared, gave the

people either an elaborate dogmatic system or a superficial and rather materialistic satisfaction of their yearnings. Real faith failed which could give profound repose to their hearts or which could bring them into vivid contact with the transcendental ideals taught. In addition to this, the social disintegrations were just ripe to stir the people's mind to an ardent aspiration for a final consolation and to eager search for its giver. Japanese Buddhism during the three hundred years from the tenth to the twelfth century was pre-eminently a religion of rituals and mysteries, taught by the hierarchic authorities and professed and practised by the court nobles. The Buddhist institutions which had contributed so much to the centralization of the government, corrupted the nobles and were in turn corrupted by them.

The weakness of the central government and the ruling families began to be exposed to daylight in the middle of the twelfth century. The Fujiwara clan, at first the major-domos of the imperial family and thence the actual rulers of the country, were the authors of the luxurious court life and the supporters of the Buddhist hierarchies. The internal family dissensions of the clan were seized as opportunities by their military subordinates, and the latter began to overpower the former. The military men came to power and the sumptuous court life came to an end. The feudal régime under a military government changed the aspect of the country. With the fall of the old power Buddhist orthodoxy lost its sway. The time was now ripe for the development of the aspirations of the people.

Even during the flourishing period of the court religion, some pioneers were beginning the popular propaganda—the gospel of salvation by the Buddha Amita's mercy. We find in our Hōnen the man who consummated the development in this direction. He was born in the province of Mimasaka<sup>1</sup> in 1133, and was the only son of a local military chief. According to the last will of his father, who died of a wound inflicted by his enemy, the boy of only nine years was sent to a Buddhist priest and later became a novice in a monastery on Mount Hiei. We can imagine how deeply Hōnen was impressed in his infancy by the sad fate of his family, for he shared the sorrows and afflictions which befell many military families of that period. We can see too the influence upon the boy's later life exercised by the last instruction of his dying father, that he should never think of revenge, as was usual at that time, but should become a virtuous monk in order to devote his whole life for the sake of the *bodhi*<sup>2</sup> of his dead father as well as that of the enemy.

<sup>1</sup> In the western part of central Japan.

<sup>2</sup> For this idea and practice, see the article (No. 10, p. 154) on *Buddhist Influence upon the Japanese*.



An obedient novice and thereafter a studious monk, he thus passed many years in the centre of the Buddhist hierarchy. The history of these thirty years of Hōnen's monastic life on the Hiei are not known in detail. But one of his later sayings shows that he had gone through all the branches of learning and discipline, as they were taught and practised in the institution, in pious obedience and ardent zeal. 'The mysteries of the Mantra<sup>1</sup> religion,' he said, 'may be compared with sweet honey; the intuitive contemplation with fine fruits; the elaborate system of the Tendai<sup>2</sup> with splendid butter. They have their respective merits and satisfy man's various demands and tastes, but neither of them can be the daily food for all men. The simple faith in salvation by Amita's power is just like plain rice. Every one, even of weak stomach, can take and enjoy it and it is indispensable for our everyday food.' He had tasted all these excellent delicacies, but he hungered till he found at last an everlasting satisfaction in rice. Indeed he asked for daily bread and he was given it.

In the forty-third year of his age, his final conversion to a simple child-like faith in Amita took place. Repeated and devoted reading in the *Sukhāvatīvyāha*, i.e. the gospel of salvation by Amita's power, prepared the way for him; and his eager study of the treatises by Zendo on that gospel gave him the final clue to his faith. Hōnen was never tired of expressing his respect and gratitude toward Zendo, the Chinese master. He called his unseen teacher the 'Great Master', and seems to have taken him as an incarnation of the Buddha Amita Himself. But it is almost needless to say that the faith was not given to him by either the scripture or the master, but that they gave him the occasion for the awakening of his inner voice. From that time on he abandoned all his former learning and practices and devoted himself to the repetition of Amita's name in pious faith in the Buddha's power and in gratitude towards His mercy.

The fundamental tenet of Hōnen's religion consisted in believing in the power of an all-compassionate and almighty saviour, realized in the person of Amita, the Lord of the Sukhāvatī, the Land of Bliss and Purity. He taught: 'Perfect Bliss He (Amita) would not have, till He knew that all who would invoke Him might be saved. This is His primal vow (*praṇidhāna*).<sup>3</sup> Every sentient being has the chance

<sup>1</sup> See my *Religious History of Japan* (1907, Tokyo), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the teachings founded upon the Lotus. See *Religious History of Japan*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to the eighteenth of Amita's forty-eight vows, as described in one of the Chinese versions of the *Sukhāvatīvyāha*. Cf. *S.B.E.*, Vol. xlix, Part II, p. 73.



of being saved, since He is living in enlightenment.<sup>1</sup> Whoever calls earnestly upon his name, will enter that Realm of Purity. Amita Buddha, as in a vision, he shall see coming to him, and at death He shall welcome him with all His saints; <sup>2</sup> nor shall obstacles or demons keep him back. There shall be no distinction, no regard to male or female, good or bad, exalted or lowly; none shall fail to have Pure Life, after having called, with complete desire, on Amita. Just as a great stone, if on a ship, may complete a voyage of myriads of miles over the waters, and yet not sink; so we, though our sins are heavy as giant boulders, are borne to the other shore by Amita's primal vows, not sinking in the sea of birth and death. Do not dream, therefore, of doubting, even for a moment, the unimaginably mysterious potency of Amita's vows.<sup>3</sup> No carnal sin nor any human weakness can be hindrances to this faith. The absolute faith in and intent thought on Amita is always accepted by Him, and His power takes the believer in safety into the realm of the Saints. The efficacy of the Buddha's vows is only sure when our reliance upon His promise does not dissolve away. And the devotion keeps us away from evil thoughts and vicious temptations, though a human being is exposed to these. The light of Amita-ābhā (the Infinite Light) pervades every quarter and corner of the worlds. It becomes visible to those who open their eyes to it. The eternal life of Amita-āyus (the Infinite Life) is already realized in His Realm. It can be partaken of by those who desire it. This sincere desire and devotion, the human counterpart of the Buddha's vow, are explained, according to the holy scripture, as follows <sup>4</sup> :—

'Firstly, the faithful thought means the thought that is truthful, the thought that has no inside, no outside. Nothing can be done without sincere, truthful thought. To pretend to be disgusted with the evil-stained world, yet not to be really disgusted with it; or to make a show of aspiring toward the Pure Land without an intense desire thereof; that is the hypocrisy common with worldly men.<sup>5</sup> Keep out this kind of thoughts that have both an inside and an outside, have a loathing for the dirt of this world as well as an aspiration toward the Land of Purity.'

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Buddhahood, not only in capacity of a teacher but a saviour, the one who carries all beings to the other shore of salvation and release.

<sup>2</sup> See next page.

<sup>3</sup> This and some other sayings cited below are taken from Hōnen's *Catechism in Twelve Articles*, which the writer of the present article began to translate into English, conjointly with Mr. R. Morris, but has not yet finished.

<sup>4</sup> The sixth of the Twelve Articles; cf. *S.B.E.*, Vol. xlix, Part II, p. 188.

<sup>5</sup> This almost self-evident remark has its force when referred to the conditions of the religious practices of the courtiers of that time.



'Secondly, the profound thought refers to the faith in Buddha's primal vows. Though we are beings of depravity and sin, we shall surely be saved by the power of Buddha. Being convinced of this truth and believing in it, one should not have even a particle of doubt.'

'Lastly, the response to Buddha's mercy is the desire to be born in the Pure Land, employing all efforts in the service that looks to the Buddha. Never think that the birth (in Buddha's Realm) is attained by the efficacy of our acts or by the virtue of our minds, but believe that even those who are not entitled (to saintship in the Land of Purity on account of their own virtues) will be born there by virtue of the wonderful power of Buddha's vows. The mind that is sure of being received by Buddha when the days of life are done, is like the diamond that nothing can destroy. Let the mind live in faith profound throughout the length of years, even to the moment of death.'

Here we see how thoroughly and deeply Hōnen was devoted to the Buddha's grace and, at the same time and to the same degree, keen on the sincerity and assiduity of faith on man's part. This point gave later rise to the questions, among his disciples, as to whether Buddha's grace or man's faith is more fundamental to our salvation. Though these were questions important and significant in the later history of his religion, they touched Hōnen's mind but little. His influence and his significance consisted more in his saintly personality than in his doctrinal teachings.

Just as Hōnen's outward life before his conversion was not rich in incidents and vicissitudes, so, after the establishment of faith, his life, both inner and outer, moved over smooth seas of devotion, and was passed in the bright sunshine of peace. Though he lived in seclusion, the fame of the Saint of Kurodani (the place where he lived) attracted not only the monks, who were seeking after something simpler than the scholastic philosophy of orthodoxy, but also men and women of various classes, who were eager for piety and devotion, or who were ardent for the emancipation from their afflictions. His biographies<sup>1</sup> are full of the details of his daily life and incidents. They refer mostly to the various cases of conversions of men of all classes to the faith, many kindly sayings uttered on various occasions to his followers, and some letters sent to his admirers in the provinces. Several visions of the Buddha and His Saints or of the 'Great Master', sermons preached to serpents and birds, the transfiguration of the hero's body, a miraculous illumination of his abode, and the like, make up another category of the incidents told in the biographies. The majority of

<sup>1</sup> One written by one of his monk disciples five years after his death, and the other compiled by Imperial order eighty years afterwards.



the 237 chapters of the principal biography<sup>1</sup> tell single stories of these kinds without any chronological order. So these chapters may be brought parallel to the *Fioretti* of St. Francis. Indeed Hōnen's life was a realization of what he once wrote to a lady of high dignity. There at the close of the letter we read :—

‘Think, in love and sympathy, of any beings who have the earnest desire for the Land of Purity and utter the Buddha's name, as if they were your parents or children, though they may dwell in any place, even outside the cosmic system. Help those who are in need of material things in this world. Endeavour to quicken the faith of any in whom a germ of it is seen. Deem all these to be services done to Amita.’

The peaceful life of Hōnen was disturbed in its last part by a sentence of exile. His teaching, consisting as it did of a simple piety and abandonment of intricate dogmas, and, perhaps more, his fame as the saint of Amita-Buddhism, aroused jealousy among the ecclesiastical dignitaries. The government, in spite of opposition on the part of some high officials, was obliged, by the instigation of the hierarchy, to sentence the teacher of the new gospel and his leading disciples to banishment in remote provinces. Touching stories are told of his departure and his farewell to his followers. It will suffice here to quote a poem left by him to a devout follower of his. It reads :—

What though our bodies, fragile as the dew,  
Melt here and there, resolved to nothingness ?  
Our souls shall meet again, in some happier day,  
In this same lotus-bed where now they grow.

His banishment from the capital lasted from 1207 to 1211 ; it helped only to deepen his faith and to attract more followers in the provinces. But when he was released from the sentence of exile and welcomed by his followers in the capital, his health was beginning to decline.

Hōnen's death was indeed worthy of the last moments of a saint's life. His declining health obliged him to lie down quietly. It occurred on the second day of the first lunar month of 1212 (therefore probably in December of 1211). As the days passed, his sight became clearer than before, and his hearing sharper. His whole time in bed was devoted to the repetition of Amita's name and in giving instructions to the disciples. On the eve of the 24th day the last moment seemed to approach. His voice became sweeter and the utterance of Buddha's name continued until the noon of the next day. His last words uttered were the famous verse in praise of Amita :—

His light pervades the worlds in ten directions,  
His grace forsakes not any one who invokes Him.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the one compiled by Imperial order.



Surrounded by many disciples and followers, the saint died as if he were going to sleep. Even after he expired his lips seemed to move slightly and repeat Amita's name.

It may be asked whether the light revealed by Hōnen will continue to console and embrace many minds in future, as it has done during the seven hundred years since his death. His saintly personality will surely remain for ever a bright star of Japanese Buddhism. It is not accidental that the gospel promulgated by him counts as its followers one-third of the whole population of modern Japan.

## 5

## A HISTORY OF THE ZEN SHU IN JAPAN

By ZENKAI OMORI. (ABSTRACT)

THE Zen Shu claims to transmit the essence and spirit of Buddhism from its author, not by any sacred books or traditional authorities, but by the believer's own spiritual enlightenment. 'Look carefully within, and there you will find the Buddha in your own thought' is its principal tenet. Its scholastic name is the Sect of Buddha-Heart, but it is popularly known as Zen Shu, because its followers maintain the practice of meditation (Sanskrit *dhyāna*, Pali *jhāna*, Chinese *shannia*, Japanese *Zenna*). Its historical beginning originated with the Buddha Shaka-muni, who handed down the key of the Right Law to the venerable Mahā-Kashyapa, who handed it on through numerous Patriarchs in India and China till it was received by the Japanese sages.

Passing over the early history of the school, and its divisions in China under the T'ang dynasty (618-905 A.D.), we reach the introduction of its teachings into Japan by a Chinese Kiraya-teacher, Do-sen (Chin. *Dow-tsun*), in 729 A.D., belonging to the northern school led by Shing Syu, but it did not form an independent sect. The three schools now existing, Rin-zai, So-to, and Obaku, are all branches of the southern Zen Shu which was led by the sixth patriarch, Hui-neng, in China.

I. The *Rin-zai Shu* was first introduced into Japan by Eisai in 1191 A.D. Eisai (from central Japan) became a neophyte in the Ten-dai Shu at fourteen, and afterwards studied in China, returning in 1168. Dissatisfied, however, with the teaching of the books he brought back with him, he sailed again in 1187, and after years of travel met a noted Zen leader of the Rin-zai school, Kyo-an, under



whom he attained enlightenment and was authorized to teach. After his return (1191) the first Zen monastery was built at the old capital Kyoto in 1202. Threatened opposition on the part of other sects was disarmed by his book 'to wake the Zen and tranquillize the state', still known in Japan. After his death in 1215, the Rin-zai school continued to spread, and the So-to Shu was introduced by his disciple Dogen.

II. *The So-to Shu.* Dogen (1200-53) was descended from the emperor Murakami. He is said to have been converted by seeing the smoking of incense-sticks burnt on occasion of his mother's death. He joined the Ten-dai sect at 13, and was soon sent by his teacher to Eisai, because there was no one among the Ten-dai teachers who could answer his questions satisfactorily. In 1223 he went to China, and was duly authorized in the Eye of the Right Law by a famous Zen master, Ten-do Nyo-jo of the So-to school. Ten years later he founded the first Zen monastery of the So-to school at U-ji in the province of Yamashiro, this school acquiring great influence among the educated. The latter half of his life was spent in the practice of the highest Meditation, the highest Knowledge, and the highest Moral Law with his disciples. Among his numerous books the *Sho-bo-gen-zo* or *Eye of the Right Law* (in ninety-five volumes) is still well known in Japan. 'The sect of the Buddha-Heart,' he said, 'represents the original teaching of Buddha's whole life. All the sects of Buddhism that have developed in the far East, sprang from the Eye of the Right Law.' The sects of Buddhism already introduced were not sufficiently comprehensive; he sought to protest against their divisions, and declared that the Right Law of the Buddha could not be called by the name of any sect. After his death, the Zen Shu made steady progress in Japan. The Ho-jo Shogun, who was the real head of the feudal government at that time, greatly encouraged the dissemination of Zen teaching. This resulted in frequent communication between Japan and China. For three or four centuries the emperors as well as the Shoguns greatly patronized the Zen Shu, which thoroughly permeated every fibre of Japanese life. Not only did emperors and Shoguns come to see the Zen leaders, but many eminent scholars also, poets, statesmen, and artists, rapped at the monastery-door. The Zen doctrine by its very simplicity, directness, and efficiency, won the heart of the people, who had grown tired of the old sects because of the multiplication of forms and too much philosophy. The Zen Shu enjoyed great prosperity through the Ho-jo (1250-1335) and Ashikaga (1335-1573) periods, which may be called the golden age of the Zen Shu. The greatest masters of Zen were almost all born in this age, and the majority of the important temples and monasteries of the Zen Shu now existing in Japan were then founded.



At the end of the Ashikaga period, in the sixteenth century, when the feudal system split into fragments and the normal state of the country was that of civil war, the Zen teaching was growing up and its influence was more and more felt, especially among the military class. Hence the Zen Shu was called the 'Bushi Bukkyo', the 'knight-sect' of Buddhism. Bushi-do which has come to be much talked of, is considered to have owed its development to a remarkable extent to the Zen Shu at that day.

III. The *Obaku* School of Zen Shu was introduced into Japan as late as the seventeenth century. This is the youngest of all the sects of Buddhism that have been propagated in Japan. Its founder was a Chinese priest, Engen, who came to Japan accompanied by many disciples in 1654 A.D. The *Obaku-San*, the first monastery of the *Obaku* school in Japan, was built for him at U-ji by a contribution of the Tokugawa Shogun, Jetsuna, who was the fourth successor of the Tokugawa government in 1661 A.D. The name of the school was derived from the name of the place where its founder lived in China. Previous to his arrival in Japan there were many Chinese immigrants in western Japan, and many Chinese Zen priests came over one after another by their invitation. Of these Engen was the greatest. The Emperor Gomignō highly esteemed him, and gave him the title 'Da-ko Fu-sho Koku-shi', or 'the Teacher of Great Enlightenment', when he was approaching the end of his life. The influence of his faith became at once strong, not only among the Chinese immigrants, but also among the Japanese. As his teaching, however, was not naturalized in accordance with Japanese taste, it could not flourish as much as the other schools of Zen, but it undoubtedly imparted a certain stimulus to them.

All the sects of Buddhism were exposed to the bloody persecutions of the Nobunaga Shogun; they were gradually weakened both internally and externally. Subsequently through the patronage of the Tokugawa Shogun, Ieyasu, who greatly encouraged the spread of Buddhism, they recovered their landed property and many favourable privileges. But they did not at once revive from their internal weakness.

After the *Obaku* school was founded in Japan, the other Zen schools, the *Rin-zai* and *So-to*, immediately began to rise, by a spirit of emulation, out of the lethargic condition into which they had fallen. Many great Zen teachers were produced in this day, which may be called the renascent age of the Zen Shu in Japan. The great majority of the *Rin-zai* leaders, who to-day occupy the chief seats in the principal monasteries, are the successors of the Japanese Hakuin, who died in 1768 at the age of 84, and was the most eminent leader of the *Rin-zai* in that day. Gesshu (+1696) and Manzan (+1714) were

the well-known priests who restored the ecclesiastical system still maintained by the members of this school. Tetsugen (+1683) of the Obaku Shu was also a famous priest. He reprinted the 6,771 volumes of the Sacred Books now used by the Buddhists. It is said that when he purposed to collect the funds for printing the Scriptures, he travelled himself from province to province to obtain contributions. On his return, he heard that in the province of Izumo there was a terrible flood. 'Izumo is the province,' said he, 'where the donations of the people were the largest of all. I shall offer all the money that I have, to rescue them,' and he gave up the whole collection to the relief of the people. In a later year when there was a great famine at Tohoku in northern Japan, he again gave up all his second collection for the general need. After waiting ten years he at last succeeded in his purpose by his third collection. 'Three times,' said he, 'did I make the wooden blocks for reprinting the Sacred Books. The two first are truly the living Sacred Books, and the third are those of the dead.'

IV. The modern development of the Zen Shu. The Restoration of 1868, through which modern Japan emerged out of its feudal organization, naturally disestablished all sorts of privileges conferred by the Tokugawa Shogun. All the sects of Buddhism which had been protected and privileged by the Shogun until that time, shared in the common fate, and their landed estates were at once sequestered by the Government of the Mikado. Meanwhile the development of communication opened the way to the introduction of Western thought. These political and social changes naturally brought new light and movement to Buddhism. All the various sects, which had been comparatively conservative, and tended rather to quiescence in the end of the Tokugawa period, began to bestir themselves actively for propagation. Since 1875 they have all been organized into one whole system, educational, social, and deliberative. They then became more friendly than they ever had been, and they are furthering the faith and practice of Buddhism among all classes of the people. Now the Zen Shu is the largest of the Buddhist sects in Japan, having 1500 temples more than the Shin Shu, the next largest, or over 20,000 in all. It is also one of the richest of the sects, for almost all the Zen Shu temples possess considerable fixed property. The Rin-zai school laid more emphasis on the practice of Dhyāna, while the So-to rather encouraged missionary work. The latter is more liberal and numerically strong; the former remains still conservative and intellectually strong. The character of the Obaku bears a close resemblance to the Rin-zai.



Denomina- tions <sup>1</sup>	Ha or Bodies	Kaisan or Founders	Estab- lished	Tera or Churches	Jushoku or Abbots	Teachers and Preachers	Assistant Teachers and Preachers	Theological Students
Ma			A.D.					
HOS'SO SHU	1	DO-SHO	653	41	17			
KEGON SHU	1	DO-SEN	736	32	12			
TENDAI SHU	3	DEN-GYO	858	4,711	2,789			
SHINGON SHU	8	KO-BO	804	12,717	7,741			
YUZU NEN	1	SHO-O	1124	363	208	73,270	43,637	9,379
BUTSU SHU								
JI SHU	1	EN-SHO	1274	513	408			
JODO SHU	2	HO-NEN	1174	8,371	6,149			
RIN-ZAI	10	EI-ZAI	1191	569 14,211 6,142	347 9,499 4,410			
SO-TO	1	DO-GEN	1233	20,922	14,256			
OBABU	1	ENGUN	1661					
SHIN SHU	10	SHIN RAN	1224	19,447	15,787			
NICHIREN SHU	9	NICHIREN	1253	5,073	4,121			

<sup>1</sup> Extracted from the *Buddhist Year-Book*, 1908.

## 6

## THE OPHITE Gnostics AND THE PURE LAND SECT IN JAPAN

By A. LLOYD. (ABSTRACT)

I. THE approximate date of Sākyamuni's death, B.C. 480, shows that he lived at a time when Persia, newly risen on the ruins of Babylon, was the dominant power in Asia. His ministry must have brought him close to the frontiers of the Persian Empire, which included parts of North-west India; and Sākyans, his kinsmen, are mentioned by Herodotus as taking part in the expeditions of Darius and Xerxes. We may therefore say that he was a contemporary of the Hebrew prophets of the Captivity and the Return. It is possible that, as a personage of considerable political importance, he was acquainted with the events which led to the Return of the Jews.

II. Chief characteristics of Sākyamuni's religious teaching. It was a protest against the priestly and philosophical tyrannies, so far as the latter existed in India, at the time. He rejected caste, denied the necessity or efficacy of religious sacrifices as austerities, taught

that *pain* was the universal factor of life, that the cause of pain was *desire*, that where desire ceases, pain ceases, and that desire can be made to cease by a life according to the noble eightfold path of right conduct, right aims, &c. This leads to Nirvāṇa, an idea which is a little different from *mukti*, but which was already known in India, as were also *Karma* and the *Wheel of Life*, both of which he adopted into his teaching. But philosophy in his original teachings was reduced to a minimum, though the necessities of later years must have compelled the framing of a system. He made no war on the gods of India, who frequently came into his teaching, but he taught that the enlightened man was above the gods. When necessity arose, as in the case of Queen Vaidehi, he pointed his disciples to something higher even than an earthly Buddha, i.e. to Amitābha. (It is possible that this may not be part of the 'original deposit' of Buddhism.) He also spoke of his teaching as the 'way of all the Buddhas'.

III. Before Śākyamuni's death, his teachings seem to have been accepted by his kinsmen of Śākyan blood, and they appear to have crossed the western frontiers of India even during his lifetime. Wherever they went they carried with them the same characteristics that they had shown in India. They waged no war with the gods of the old mythologies, but treated them as they had treated the gods of India. 'The way of all the Buddhas' was a phrase which enabled them to recognize and appreciate whatever was in accordance with their principles. They were thus never antagonistic, but passed freely into the religious life of the peoples among whom they lived. What we know them to have done in China, Tibet, Japan, and India, we may presume them to have done in Bactria, Parthia, and Asia Minor.

IV. It was the age of migrations. Cimbrians and Gauls were already on the wing, and Strabo tells of a similar migration of Scythians (=Śākyaṇs), who, having erected a great Colossus on the borders of their kingdom, went forth on their conquering expeditions to Media, Armenia, Colchis, Cappadocia and the shores of the Euxine. Strange to say, Fa-hian, the Chinese traveller, has the same story, but tells it about the Buddhists; and Aśoka's rock-inscriptions bear witness to the fact that Buddhism in his day had reached very far to the west. Buddhist remains found in the lands bordering the Black Sea testify to the truth of the story; which is further corroborated by the incursion of the Gauls into Asia Minor about B.C. 260. Members of these tribes must have carried with them Buddhist doctrines, which were no longer purely Indian, but had been tinged by the mythological ideas of the countries through which they passed. It was also an age of commerce. Ships came and went between the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the western coasts of India. Buddhism was always



a merchants' religion, and many an Indian merchant found his way to the markets of Alexandria.

V. Many traces of this Buddhism may be found. Some of the later philosophical sects of the Roman Empire—notably Stoicism, Neo-Platonism, and the later Pythagoreans—present many traces of Buddhist thought. The Essenes, with colonies, apparently, in Asia Minor, Eastern Palestine and Alexandria, were likewise tinged with Buddhist ideas; and Philo the Jew is a Buddhist when he maintains that man, through the purification of his affections and intellect, can reach to the threshold of God, while a full knowledge of God is only given in a state of ecstatic contemplation. It was in such a state that Buddha himself attained to enlightenment under the bo-tree. But Buddhism probably also found itself at home in the new cults of Rome, introduced during the last two centuries of republican régime—in Serapis, the Sun-god, introduced into Egypt by Ptolemy I from the land of Pontus on the shores of the Black Sea, in Isis, the Queen of Heaven, and Mithras, the Persian Saviour, and in the Magna Mater, brought to Rome in B.C. 204; as well as in much of the Hermetic literature. We have seen that Buddhists at any rate, if not Buddha, were not averse from personifications like Amitābha, which gave a more worthy idea of the Godhead than did the mythological deities of the countries to which they came; that they freely recognized by the phrase 'the way of all the Buddhas' the existence and authority of Buddhas other than Sākyamuni; and that they were indifferent to religious beliefs which did not conflict with their fundamental principles. The 'new cults' of Rome, all originating from a period later than Asoka's council, may easily have been due to Buddhist influence. Certainly they correspond very closely to the ideas underlying the ideal Buddhas of the Mahāyāna. Serapis is the Sun, so are Vairocana and Amitābha; Mithras is etymologically as well as ideally the same conception as Maitreya; and Buddhism has female deities, like Isis, as well as male. The Magna Mater, too, is in essence a personified Prajñā.

VI. We now come to the time of Christ. The Levant was a seething mass of conflicting religious ideas when Christ and His Apostles began their work. I am myself convinced of the historicity of the New Testament accounts, but I will not now appeal to these as though to final authorities. I will only say this, that the accounts of the Visit of the Magi, and of St. Peter's Sermon on the Day of Pentecost, could never have been imagined, had there not been a Christian sub-consciousness of a connexion between the Gospel and the East; and every one will agree that Christ's life was for the most part spent in Galilee of the Gentiles, in the land of the mixed people whom the commerce of Rome with Asia had brought to settle at some of the

chief places along the trade route. We also know that Antioch was a chief place in the earliest Christian history, that Asia Minor was in the very thick of Christian evangelization, the scene of St. Peter's labours as well as St. Paul's, that St. Paul and St. John were both active in Ephesus, and that Ephesus was in close communication with Alexandria, and Alexandria with Egypt. The Roman satirist has also told us that the Orontes had for a long time been a tributary of the Tiber. No historian has traced for us the Acts of the Apostles who went to the East; but there is enough to show that their labours, though not conspicuous, were far-reaching, and that Christian ideas, certainly during the first century of our era, reached the very home of the Mahāyāna.

VII. Turning back to the history of Buddhism, we find that, during the centuries between the death of Sākyamuni and the beginning of the Christian era, it had undergone considerable modifications. The so-called Hīnayāna Buddhism had become divided into many sects (generally reckoned as eighteen), and the Buddhism outside the purely Indian sphere had developed into what is known as the Mahāyāna, or greater Vehicle. This must have been long in forming, but it took its definite organized form at the great Council held under the Yue-chi King Kanishka, during the later years of the first century A.D. The *Questions of King Milinda* show the trend of Buddhist thought during the period of formation, and bear some resemblance to the Eleatic school of Zeno and his successors; but the movement is more closely connected with the names of Aśvaghosha, who is credited with having written, in the *Buddhacarita*, the first systematic biography of Sākyamuni, as well as the treatise known as the *Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*, and with Nāgārjuna, whom Japan recognizes as the undoubted first patriarch of the Mahāyāna system. Nāgārjuna is connected in Japan with at least three schools of Buddhist thought: the Shingon, or secret teachings, based not on Sākyamuni, but on Vairocana, the Greatest Buddha of all; the Zen, or contemplative school—a form of thought strangely similar to the Docetism of contemporary Christianity; and the 'Pure Land' school, which offers Amitābha as the centre of its system. The Buddha Vairocana (Jap. *Dainichi*, the Great Sun) is known in Japan as common to both the Shingon and the Tendai sects, and the connexion between these sects and Alexandria is shown by the use of the word *Abrazas*, of which I have recently found three instances in Japanese literature. The connexion between the Pure Land school and certain forms of Ophite Gnosticism seems to be still closer.

VIII. The Elchasaite heresy, mentioned in the *Philosophumena*, is said to have originated in the town of Serapeum, in the third year of Trajan; the very year, be it said, which Irenaeus gives



as the *terminus a quo* for the propagation of Gnosticism. We do not know the exact locality of Seræ Parthorum, but the name would indicate a spot on the confines of China and Parthia, the very country over which the Yue-ohi Kings, Kanishka and his successors, bore rule. A few years later, A.D. 147, a Parthian prince, Anshikao, who has strange connexions with Rome, heads a mission of Buddhists to China, and commences a long series of literary missions to that country, which went on in unbroken succession for many centuries. Anshikao, though not the first Buddhist missionary to China, is a most important personage. His translations and those of his contemporaries are still extant. Many of them are of a practical character, the most important of the more theological treatises introduced into China being the larger *Sukhāvati Vyūha* with its elaborated teachings about Amitābha. I say elaborated, because Amitābha is no longer alone, as in the *Amitayur Dhyani Sūtra*: he is accompanied by his spiritual son, Avalokiteśvara, or Kwannon, the embodiment of mercy, and by Mahāsthāmaprāptā, or Seishi, the embodiment of strength, and the three thus form a kind of Trinity. Of Avalokiteśvara, the son of the Buddha of Infinite Light and Life, it is said that he assists his father in the work of saving sentient beings—for the whole creation groans and travails in pain, according to Buddhist doctrine; and that for that purpose he appears in many temporary incarnations, as man, woman, animal, or bird, to save the suffering. The idea was probably taken from Hindu thought; but it is strange that we find a similar idea in the Gnostics of the Ophite School. Christ, they said, was born of a Virgin, but He had had many births, and not always in human form. The legend of St. Eustathius, reappearing in the legend of St. Hubert, and the well-known symbol of the Fish, seem to point to this connexion; and Dr. Rendel Harris has, I believe, shown the acquaintance which the Christian apologist, Aristides, had with the story of Barlaam and Josaphat.

Time fails me to develop the connexions between Alexandrine thought and the *Saddharma pundarika*; and it is unnecessary for me to speak of the well-established relations which Manichæism bore to Christianity on the one hand and Buddhism on the other. I shall be well satisfied if I can show that there is *prima facie* evidence for believing it to be possible that we have, in the Japanese Buddhism of the Pure Land, a lineal descendant of the Ophite Gnostics of Asia Minor in the first and second centuries A.D.

## PAI CHANG CH'ING KUEI, THE RULES OF BUDDHIST MONASTIC LIFE IN CHINA

By H. HACKMANN. (ABSTRACT)

THE *Pai chang ch'ing kuei*, with which I became acquainted on my journeys in the interior of China, is a book of great importance for our knowledge of practical Buddhism. It possesses great authority among different sects of China, giving as it does the whole framework of monastic life. The introductory chapter (*yüan i*) of the work sketches the life of the author (Pai chang). The first four chapters deal with the ritual of festival and memorial days, and are of fundamental value for the Buddhist calendar. In the fifth chapter we hear of the duties of an abbot; the sixth book (or chapter) contains a detailed description of all the regular offices in a monastery, eighty-one in all. The seventh book, divided into a first and second half, speaks of the rules and ritual pertaining to the whole assembly, and deals especially with the sacred ceremonial used in the ordination of a monk, and in the observance of the *Upasatha* days. The eighth book treats of the special occupations of the monks in the different seasons of the year and describes certain festivals. The ninth enumerates the religious instruments. An appendix gives a geographical table of interesting Buddhist sacred places.

The book is indeed very comprehensive, and there seems to be no feature in the life of Chinese Buddhist monks upon which light is not thrown. It is the best introduction into the social and practical aspects of Chinese Buddhism, and it is very strange that except for a few hints (in the books of Dr. Edkins and Dr. de Groot) it has entirely escaped the observation of students and has not been translated even partially. I am at present engaged on a translation of the book.



## ON THE ORIGIN OF THE TAOIST CHURCH

BY J. J. M. DE GROOT

It is a remarkable coincidence in the history of religion that the epoch marked by the life of Christ and the establishment of His Church, was the epoch also of the development of religious life in eastern Asia. The centuries during which the Later Han dynasty bore supreme sway in China, that is to say, the first and the second of the Christian era, were characterized by the consolidation of the old religious ideas and rites, handed down to the nation by the classical writings, into a so-called Confucian state religion. That same epoch also was that of the first vigorous growth of Buddhism in China, the apostles of which had already found their way thither before the birth of Christ. And, at the same time, that period gave birth to the third system of religion, which to this day exists on Chinese soil: that of the Tao, generally called by us Taoism.

What are we to understand by this term? We must define it as Universalism, a system aiming at the assimilation of man with the Tao or Order of the World, and the propitiation of that Order, that is to say, of the spirits, good and bad, which compose it. This propitiation has actually become a system of religion, containing all the chief elements of pagan religions generally; to wit, a Pandemonium and a Pantheon, both composed of beings which actually are parts of the Universe or powers working therein; and further, exorcism of devils, and propitiation of gods, conducted by a priesthood, together with the observance of a highly developed ritual created to a great extent in imitation of Buddhism. It is a Universalism, moreover, which purports to render man happy by teaching him the discipline leading to assimilation with the Tao or Order of the World.

The origin of this Universalism is hidden in the night of time; but it had its principles, doctrines, and votaries a long while before the rise of the Han dynasty, as even the classical writings show clearly. Under that dynasty it had even developed into an actual religion with hermits, saints, and religious communities. But attention has never yet been drawn to the fact, that in the first century of our era this Universalistic system transformed itself into a disciplined Church.

This process is inseparably connected with the name Chang Ling, 張陵. This saint is described as a thaumaturgist of the highest order, as a compounder of elixirs of life, and as a first-rate exorcist; he was a god-man commanding spirits and gods. He personifies the

transformation of ancient Taoist principle and doctrine into a religion with magic, priesthood, and hierarchy, under the very auspices of Laotszē, who appeared before him in person, and commissioned him to carry out that great organization. In obedience to this prophet, he transmitted his mission to his descendants, who actually survive to this day, as heads of the Church, in Kiangsi province, in the same place in Kwei-khi district where Chang Ling prepared his elixir of life.

If any one deserves the name of founder of the Tao kia 道家 or the Taoist Church, Chang Ling certainly is the man. Taoists, in fact, call him to this day their Tai Tsung 大宗 or Grand Patriarch. His history, therefore, and the myths that have grown up round it, are worthy of a very careful attention.

In the *Memoirs of the State of Wei*, which are a section of the *San kwōh chi*, or *Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms*, composed by Ch'en Shên 陳壽 as early as the last years of the third century of our era, we read as follows :

'The second name of Chang Lu 張魯 was Kung-khi. He was a man from Fung, in the state of P'ei.<sup>1</sup> His grandfather Chang Ling had resided in Shuh (Szē-ch'wen), and studied the Tao in the mountains of Kuh-ming. He composed a Taoist book, to lead the people astray. Those who followed and accepted his doctrines paid five pecks of rice, and were therefore styled by their contemporaries "rice-rebels". When Chang Ling was dead, his son Heng propounded his doctrine; and when Heng had died, his son Lu propounded it also.'<sup>2</sup>

Fan Yeh, the chief compiler of the *Books of the Later Han Dynasty*, a hundred and even more years later, evidently copied in that work the above notice (ch. cv, f. 4), adding that Chang Ling resided in Shuh under the reign of Shun, that is between the years 126 and 145 of our era. He also says, that the book which he wrote was a 'charm-book' (符書). All other particulars which the Chinese know, or pretend to know, about Chang Ling, they owe to the pen of Koh Hung, who gave a biography of him in his *Shen-sien ch'wen* 神仙傳. This famous Taoist of the fourth century of our era calls him Chang Tao-ling; he, or others before him, may perhaps have prefixed the word Tao to his name Ling, which means a hill, in order to bring out the high attainments of its owner in the Tao or art of self-assimilation with the Universal Course or Order: or they may have inserted the word to distinguish him from two other Chang Ling mentioned in the *Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms* and the *Books of the Later Han Dynasty*.

<sup>1</sup> In the north-western corner of the present Kiangsu province. Both names still exist there as names of district cities.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. viii, f. 22.



That biography bears the stamp of reliable tradition mixed up with fable. It reads as follows :

' Chang Tao-ling was a man from the State of P'ei. A disciple of the high school, he made a thorough study of the five Classics, but then he sighed, and said : " This study will not add any years to my life," and he set to studying the doctrine of the prolongation of life. Having discovered the method of the Nine Tripods of the emperor Hwang for the preparation of elixirs of life, he desired to compound these elixirs, and wasted his fortune on drugs (required for the purpose), so that his family was ruined. He then resolved to earn his livelihood by tilling fields and rearing cattle, but these occupations yielded no profits, and ended in failure.

' Being informed that there lived in Shuh many pure-minded generous men, easy to instruct and convert, and that there were in that region many famous mountains, he withdrew thither with his disciples ; and settled on the mountain of the Cries of the *kuh* birds, where he composed a work on the Tao in twenty-four books. There, while he refined his thoughts and disciplined his will, suddenly a celestial being descended with an escort of a thousand carriages and ten thousand riders, with vehicles of gold shaded by canopies of feathers, drawn by teams of three dragons, and by tigers in numbers incalculable. He styled himself Secretary from under the Pillars,<sup>1</sup> and Lad of the Eastern Ocean. He bestowed upon Chang Ling a doctrine manifest and imposing, recently issued from the Right One (*Laotszë*) ; this he accepted, and straightway found himself able to cure the sick. Upon this the people with one accord flocked around him to worship and serve him as their master and teacher, and the number of his disciples increased to some tens of thousands.

' Without delay he appointed " sacrificers of spirits ", each of whom had to rule a section of the families, some of them performing the functions of mandarins and chiefs. And he instituted rules and regulations, and ordered his disciples, in accordance with their vocations and trades, to pay taxes in rice, silk, utensils, paper, pencils, fuel, and other articles of various kind. And he ordered the people to repair the roads, punishing with malades those who would not do so ; and in the districts men were set to see whether bridges and roads were maintained in good order. On this the people cut away the brambles, drained the marshes, in short undertook everything, even more than

<sup>1</sup> A star ' Under the Pillars ' (柱下) is mentioned in the *Shing king* 星經 and in the *Books of the Tsin Dynasty* (ch. xi, l. 14) standing about the pole, around which, according to Taoist conception, the God of Heaven has his residence and court. Both works add that this star is charged with noting down sins and faults committed by men.



he desired; and yet these foolish folk did not even understand that it was Chang Ling who brought about all this.

'In accordance with this writing sent down to him from heaven, Ling wished to rule the people by playing upon their feelings of shame; for he disliked the infliction of punishment. He therefore made an ordinance, to the effect that the sick should write down all their sins committed since birth, and throw these autographic confessions into the water, swearing oaths to the gods that they would sin no more, on penalty of death. The result was that all people were restored to health; the confessions of sin, which those who fell sick were forced to make, both cured them, and at the same time moved them to such a pitch of shame and regret that they lacked courage to sin again. It was the fear of Heaven and Earth which converted them, and from that time forward all sinners became virtuous people.

'Chang Ling acquired in that way much money and goods wherewith to buy the drugs which he wished for the compounding of the elixir of life. When this was ready, he took no more than a half of it, because he did not yet wish to ascend into heaven; but by this dose he was enabled to split his material person into several dozen bodies. In front of the gate of his dwelling was a pond, on which he regularly diverted himself in a boat, while Taoist doctors paid calls upon him and thronged his courtyard; so that there was then one Chang Ling in his chair, eating and drinking with the visitors, while the true Chang Ling was on the water.

'Afterwards, Chang Ling ascended to heaven in broad daylight, together with Chao Shing and Wang Ch'ang, and thus departed. His disciples, gazing upward after them for a long time, saw them disappear in the clouds. In the mountains of Shuh, where he had compounded the half only of the elixir, he could as yet not rise to heaven, and merely became a terrestrial Sien. . . .'

We thus see rise before our eyes the picture of a man of classical learning, so bent on the Taoist art of prolonging life that he sacrificed to that ideal everything he possessed; a man who thereupon devoted himself with certain disciples to a life of asceticism and seclusion in a country far away from his own, and during this period received in his ecstasy a mission from Laotszë, a mission embodied in a book, to cure the sick both physically and mentally. His cures secured him followers in great numbers, for whom he instituted a semi-clerical, semi-worldly government, with a system of taxation and a religious discipline based on self-humiliation before the higher powers, combined with confession of sins. Was he the first apostle of Taoist doctrine in Szë-ch'wen? Ch'en Sheu brands him as a man seducing the people by means of his celestial book, asserting that he wrote it himself, and that his contemporaries called him a rebel, that is to say, a man



exercising authority without imperial mandate or sanction; but this is not to be wondered at, since any founders or leaders of religious corporations, having an organization and rules of their own, would have a like fate in Confucian China to this hour.

In all this traditional matter the historical ground comes out more clearly when we read, as we have done, in Ch'en Shen's *Memoirs*, that Chang Ling's clerical and worldly state continued to exist and flourish as an actual power after his death under his son Heng and his grandson Lu. Following on the lines which we have quoted above, that historian proceeds to write as follows :

'Liu Yen, Governor (for the Han dynasty) of the province of Yih (comprising Szê-ch'wen), having raised Chang Lu to the dignity of Tuh-i Marshal, the latter, together with the Pieh-pu Marshal Chang Siu, defeated Su Ku, the Governor of Han-chung (in the north of Yih); thereupon, however, Chang Lu put Chang Siu aside, slew him, and rendered himself master of his people.'<sup>1</sup>

'Liu Yen had commissioned Chang Lu with the dignity of Tuh-i Marshal, because the latter's mother exercised demonistic practices and, appearing in the guise of a young and beautiful girl, frequented his house continually. When Chang Lu had occupied Han-chung, he barred the valleys and passes, and killed the envoys of the Han dynasty, so that the emperor wrote that the rice-rebels had closed the passes, and rendered it impossible for him to keep up intercourse. And Chang Lu, under certain pretexts put to death more than ten noble and influential men in the province, as Wang Wei, Li Kwan, &c., in order to overawe by punishment. . . .

'In the first year of the Hing-p'ing period (A.D. 194), Liu Yen died of an abscess on his back . . . When (his son) Liu Chang, whose adult name was Ki-yuh, had succeeded him, Chang Lu showed so much pride and arrogance, and so little obedience, that Liu Chang put to death his mother and younger brothers, thus filling him with the bitterest enmity. Several times Liu Chang sent P'ang 1 and others of his generals into the field against him, but they were defeated. Thus Chang Lu considerably increased his territory in Pa-si (northern Szê-ch'wen); and for this reason Liu Chang appointed P'ang 1 to be Governor of Pa-si, with orders to checkmate Chang Lu by force of arms.'<sup>2</sup>

'Chang Lu having occupied Han-chung, instructed the people in Demonism (鬼道), and called himself King of the Teachers. Those who came thus to study were called first "warriors against spectres"; and then, after adoption of the system, "wine-sacrificers"; each of

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Wei*, ch. viii, f. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of Shuh*, ch. i, ff. 2 and 3.

these was placed at the head of a section of the people ; and when the section grew numerous, its " wine-sacrificer " became an " officer-in-chief ", or " wine-sacrificer-in-chief ". They all alike taught the people honesty and trustworthiness, abstinence from imposture and falsehood, and voluntary confession of sins when ill—very much after the manner of the Yellow Headkerchiefs. And the " wine-sacrificers " built lodging-houses for public use, in the same way that now post-houses are made ; they bought rice and meat for gratuitous use, which they stored in those lodgings, in order that wayfarers might take of the food according to their bodily needs ; but if they took in excess, they were rendered ill, in accordance with the demonistic doctrine. Transgressors of the laws were not punished unless previously pardoned thrice. No chiefs or rulers were appointed ; for it was the " wine-sacrificers " who were charged with the government of the people. Barbarians also took pleasure in these institutions. By his prowess he succeeded in maintaining his sway in Pa-si and Han-chung for thirty years.

' The house of Han in its last days, lacking power to reduce him to submission, met Chang Lu with the bestowal of favours, and created him a General for the Subjection of the People, with the dignity of Chamberlain at Court, charged also with the governorship of Han-chung and Ning-kiang and with no other obligations than that of maintaining intercourse with the court by sending tribute. At that juncture a signet of jade was found in the ground, and all his subjects were therefore desirous of raising him to the kingship of Han-chung and Ning-kiang ; but his secretary, who was named Yen P'u, advised him not to do so. " The population of Han-chung and Szé-ch'wen," said he, " amounts to more than a million families ; the land is surrounded on all sides by steep strongholds ; there is wealth there, and the soil is well watered. If you respect the Son of Heaven above you, you will, just as has been the case with Hwan Wen-tszé and Fuh Yung, remain in the possession of your wealth and dignity ; but if you use your government to establish your own power, your feet shall be chopped off ; do not pain yourself with a desire for kingship, neither assume a royal title, lest you call into existence a thing which may prove to be a forerunner of misfortune." Chang Lu followed this advice.

' During the rebellion of Han Sui and Ma Ch'ao (A. D. 211), twenty to thirty thousand families of the people of Kwan-si (the country west of the present Si-ngan-fu) followed Chang Lu's son, Wu-kiöh, and took refuge with him.

' In the twentieth year of the Kien-ngan period (A. D. 215), T'ai Tsu (Ts'ao Ts'ao, the first sovereign of the Wei dynasty) took the field from San-kwan and Wu-tu, to reduce Chang Lu to submission. When he



had reached the Yang-p'ing Barrier,<sup>1</sup> Chang Lu desired to surrender Han-chung and submit, but his younger brother Wei would not hear of it, and with his forces, several ten thousands strong, obstinately defended the Barrier. Ts'ao Ts'ao, however, worsted him,<sup>2</sup> and thereupon came to Shuh.

<sup>1</sup> When Chang Lu received news of the fall of Yang-p'ing, he would have humbly offered his submission but for Yen P'u, who said: "To go to the victor in these straits will be an act of but slight value; it will be better to rely on Tu Kwan, and to withdraw on Poh-hu, not sending your hostages to the victor before you have driven him back; your deed will then be appreciated the more highly." So Chang Lu hastily retired to the south, and came into central Pa. His attendants proposed to entirely burn the treasures, magazines, and stores, but Chang Lu said: "It has been my wish from the very beginning to join myself to a legal dynasty, but hitherto I have been unable; I am now fleeing simply to prevent a hostile encounter, and by no means with any evil intent. The treasures and arsenals are the property of the dynasty." And he sealed the stores and drew off.

<sup>2</sup> And Ts'ao Ts'ao, coming into southern Ching, praised Chang Lu's conduct very highly. Appreciating his goodwill, he sent his envoys to him to put him at ease, upon which Chang Lu went to him with all his family, and Ts'ao Ts'ao came to meet him. He then appointed him General for the Submission of the South, treated him with the ritual prescribed for the reception of visitors, and ennobled him with the rank of Feudal Lord of Lang-chung, with a personal domain inhabited by ten thousand families. His five sons also and Yen P'u he ennobled as under-vassals, and adopted Chang Lu's daughter into his family as wife for his own son P'eng-tsu; and when Chang Lu was dead, he conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of Feudal Prince of Yuen. His son Fu succeeded him in this dignity.<sup>3</sup>

Thus ended the religious realm of Chang Tao-ling, swallowed up in the short-lived empire of Wei, which Ts'ao Ts'ao by force of arms was then cutting out for himself from the territory of the decaying house of Han, the last emperor of which was finally dethroned in A.D. 220 by Ts'ao Ts'ao's son Ts'ao Pei 曹丕, known in history by the name of Wen 文, emperor of Wei. Interesting particulars about this religious

<sup>1</sup> Stated to have been situated north-west of Pao-ch'ing 褒城, in the Han-chung department.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Books of the Later Han Dynasty* (ch. cv, f. 5), he also beheaded him. This event is related more circumstantially in the *Memoirs of Wei*, ch. i, f. 38.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Memoirs of Wei*, chap. viii, ff. 22 sqq. This account of Chang Lu's life and feats also occurs in the *Books of the Later Han Dynasty*, chap. cv, without any additional information worth mentioning.



state are supplied by the *Tien-lioh* 典畧 or *Wei-lioh* 魏畧, a large work written somewhere about the middle of the third century; which exists no longer, but extracts from which occur in the commentary of P'ei Sung-chi 裴松之 upon the *Memoirs concerning the Three Kingdoms*:

'In the Hi-p'ing period (A.D. 172-178) many rebels arose, causing widespread evil. In San-fu (the country around Ch'ang-ngan, the former capital of the empire) there was Loh Yao 洛曜. In the Kwang-ho period (178-184) there was Chang Kioh 張角 in the east, and Chang Siu 張修 in Han-chung. Loh Yao taught the people how to make themselves invisible; Chang Kioh practised the religion of Universal Peace, and Chang Siu that of the Five Bushels of Rice. The masters or teachers of the religion of Universal Peace carried staves with nine knots, made charms and spells, and ordered the sick to reflect upon their sins, their foreheads touching the ground; also they gave them charm-water to drink; and if they became better or were cured, they were held to be believers, while if they were not restored to health, they were considered to be unbelieving. The system of Chang Siu was much the same as that of Chang Kioh, but in addition he everywhere built cells or closets for purification, in which patients had to dwell to ponder on their sins. They employed men as "officers against evil", "wine-sacrificers", and "wine-sacrificers-in-chief", whose duty it was to see that the five thousand characters of Lao-tszé's book were observed and practised everywhere. The principal business of these "officers against evil", or "officers against spectres", as they were also called, was to pray for the sick; which they did in the following manner. They wrote down the name and surname of the patient, with a declaration that he deserved punishment, and made three copies thereof, which they respectively sent up to heaven from an eminence, buried in the ground, and threw into the water, terming them autographs for the three rulers. They then bade the family of the patient pay them five bushels of rice; and, since they did this invariably, they were therefore known as the Five Bushel Teachers. Their work was, of course, useless for the cure of the sick, and was merely meaningless heterodoxy; but all the people were stupid and ignorant enough to worship and serve them emulously.

'Afterwards Chang Kioh was put to death (in A.D. 184), and Chang Siu, too, lost his life. Chang Lu in Han-chung, seeing that the people of that region had placed confidence in the work of Chang Siu and practised it, himself developed and improved it. He ordered and encouraged the erection of lodging-houses for free use, wherein rice and meat should be set out, in order that wayfarers might abide there.



He preached a life of retirement and seclusion, and ordained that those sinning slightly should repair a road over a length of a hundred paces, to efface their guilt. In obedience to the Monthly Prescripts (of the *Li ki*), he forbade that there should be any killing in spring or summer (the seasons of production and growth of life); moreover he interdicted the use of fermented liquors. People moving or living within his territory lacked the courage to disrespect him.\*<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to read how important a part Demonism played in that clerical Taoist state of the three patriarchs of the Chang tribe; although this is not astonishing, considering that the existence of a powerful world of demons, identified with the cold, dark, life-destroying and evil-producing half of the Universe, is one of the fundamental principles of the Taoist or Universalistic system. We can quite well understand also the humble submission of the sick to the three main parts of the Universe, Heaven, Earth, and Water. It is also an interesting fact that the Church of the Chang adopted principles which may have been borrowed from the Buddhist religion; which at that time had been busy for almost three centuries making a home for itself in China. The life of seclusion and asceticism, to which Chang Ling, with his disciples, devoted themselves, and which his grandson Chang Lu encouraged;—the confession of sins before the higher powers;—the benevolence shown to wayfarers by supplying them with free lodgings and food and repairing roads and bridges;—the humanity displayed towards criminals, who were only punished after having previously been pardoned thrice;—the mitigation or even abolition of corporal punishment;—the restriction placed upon executions, and upon the butchering of animals;—the emphasis laid on truth-speaking and upon abstinence from fermented liquors—all this is eminently Buddhistic, with especial reference to the Mahāyāna form in which, very probably, Śākyamuni's Church entered China, and which is still predominant to-day. Certainly we may well ask whether we do not here find ourselves in the period of amalgamation of the two religions.

We have thus learned from our Chinese authorities, that, besides Chang Lu, the heir to the work of his grandfather Chang Ling, there were two other Taoistic apostles of the same surname engaged in the work of conversion and ecclesiastical organization. One of them, Chang Siu, fought in alliance with Chang Lu against Su Ku, the governor of Han-chung for the Han dynasty, and was afterwards killed by his ally; who thereupon united his territory with his own, and continued to convert its people and to organize it on the same religious lines. When we collate what the historians have to say about the work of these two men, we cannot but conclude that it was of

\* *Memoirs of Wei*, chap. viii, f. 23.

an identical tendency and nature. Similar to it also was that of the third apostle, the advocate of the Religion of Universal Peace in the eastern provinces; indeed, the *T'ien-lioh* says explicitly, that Chang Siu's system was much the same as that of Chang Kioh.

This Chang Kioh is a historical figure of some significance, notorious as the religious rebel, from whose rising historiographers are wont to date the decay of the house of Han, resulting in its final downfall. 'In the first year of the Chung-p'ing period (A. D. 184),' thus we read in the standard annals of the Later Han dynasty, 'in spring, in the second month, a man in Kū-luh (in the present Pehchihli), Chang Kioh by name, called himself Hwang T'ien, or Yellow Heaven. The troops of his faction, 360,000 strong, all wearing yellow headkerchiefs, rose in rebellion with one accord upon the same day. The people of Nan-p'ing and Kan-ling laid hands upon their feudal kings and joined the rebels. . . . And in autumn, in the seventh month, a priest in the Pa principality, deeply versed in black magic, Chang Siu by name, rose in rebellion and mastered the districts of that principality.'<sup>1</sup> The connexion between these two rebellious apostles is evident enough from the coincidence of their rising.

'Chang Kioh of Kū-luh, who styled himself the Wisest Master, was an adept in the Tao of Hwang-ti and Lao-tszē. He brought up disciples, who cured the sick by making them confess their sins, kneeling and prostrate, and by treating them with charm-water and spells. The sick being thus cured in great numbers, the people placed their confidence in him, and took refuge with him. He sent out eight disciples to the north, south, east, and west, in order to instruct and convert the whole empire by the Tao of Goodness, and thus, by craft and seduction, his followers in ten more years increased to several hundreds of thousands. They combined into principalities or departments, and in eight provinces, viz. Ts'ing, Sü, Yiu, Ki, King, Yang, Yen, and Yü, the inhabitants came over to him in a body. He then founded thirty-six regions, very much the same as military divisions; a large region containing ten thousand and more people, and a small one only six or seven thousand; in each of these he appointed chiefs. And he pretended that Blue Heaven was dead, and Yellow Heaven was about to reign, and that, since the year would be a *kiah-tsze* year (the first of a cycle of sixty), great prosperity would prevail in the world; and with chalk or pencil they wrote the characters *kiah-tsze* upon the gates of the Capital, and on the official mansions of provinces and principalities.

'In the first year of the Chung-p'ing period (A. D. 184, the *kiah-tsze* year), Ma Yuen-i, the chief of one of their divisions, enlisted many

<sup>1</sup> Ch. viii, ff. 11 and 12.



tens of thousands in the provinces of King and Yang, with the purpose of assembling them in Yeh, and of thence starting the rebellion. And he went to the capital (Loh-yang or Honan) several times, persuading his adherents among the palace eunuchs, such as Fung Sü and Sü Fung, to agree upon a simultaneous rising on the fifth day of the third moon, both within and without the imperial residence. But before their rebellion broke out, a disciple of Chang Kioh, one Tang Cheu of Ts'innan, betrayed the matter in a letter to the Throne. Ma Yuen-i was torn to pieces on a wheel in Loh-yang. The emperor Ling placed Tang Cheu's letter into the hands of his three prime ministers, and Keu Tun, the governor of the province of Si-li (containing the capital) ordered Cheu Pin, with the help of the officers of the three departments, to search for adherents of Chang Kioh's religion in the Palace and among the bodyguards and the people; and they put to death more than a thousand persons. Then they extended their searches to the province of Ki, commencing a quest for Chang Kioh and his people.

'Chang Kioh, seeing the matter betrayed, sent orders post-haste, day and night, to the several divisions, to rise at once. They wore yellow headkerchiefs as badges, on which account they were called "Yellow Kerchiefs"; but they were also styled "Ant Rebels". Having killed a man as a sacrifice to Heaven, Chang Kioh adopted the title of General of Heaven, his younger brother Pao that of General of Earth, and another younger brother Liang became General of Mankind. Wherever they went, they burned the official mansions and took the cities. The provinces and principalities were at a loss what to do, as their chief officers, for the most part, fled; in ten days the whole empire responded to the call of the insurgents, and the capital trembled.' . . .<sup>1</sup>

Thus far the Chinese historian. It seems absurd to admit that those religious associates had organized themselves into communities and into a formal church with deliberate intent to reverse the legal authority. We cannot find in the annals of that period a single word to confirm such an idea. It seems more rational to look at it in another way. We can fully understand that the government considered the organization of those Taoists as a kind of state within the state, and that the religious movement, having affected almost the whole empire, had raised its jealousy, suspicion, and fears to the highest pitch. Indeed, to the eight provinces, in which, according to the historian, the organized religion had been fostered, we have to add that of Yih, or the present Szé-ch'wen, where we are told that Chang Lu was at that time exercising his religious authority. There thus remained no more than three unaffected, those lying farthest away, viz. Liang 涼, Ping 并, and

<sup>1</sup> *Books of the Later Han Dynasty*, ch. ci, ff. 1 and 2.



Kao 交, corresponding in the main to the present Kansuh, Shensi, Kwangtung, and Kwangsi.

The year 184, opening as it did a new cycle, was to the credulous devotees peculiarly hopeful for their young and flourishing Church, to which a new cycle of growth and progress thus opened itself out. Propagandists travelled far and wide with renewed zeal, the most daring even gaining proselytes within the Palace gates. But the perfidious backslider did his fatal work. His letter to the emperor may have been mere falsehood and slander, yet for a suspicious government it was sufficient reason to pounce upon the adherents of the faith. By dint of torture the members of the religion were forced to betray each other; over a thousand were killed in the imperial residence only, and as the bloody terrorism swept over the provinces, and the forests was beaten for their chiefs, the followers could not possibly refrain from seizing arms in self-defence, and this, of course, the government interpreted as rebellion. History in China has often repeated itself in such matters; in fact, history passes in review many such religious sects with ecclesiastical organization, first cruelly persecuted by the state for their spirit of association and their heterodoxy, thus forced to rise in self-defence, and finally crushed and smothered in streams of their own blood.

This fate was also allotted to the Yellow Headkerchiefs. Badly armed, as we may suppose them to have been, they sustained in that same year a series of defeats from several generals, and Chang Kioh perished. They were not, however, annihilated for years, since among the events, as late as the year 207, we find mention made of their existence in the annals of the Han dynasty (*Books of the Later Han Dynasty*, ch. ix, f. 11).

We have seen that the associates in Yih or Szë-ch'wen escaped destruction in the first place owing to the sagacity and valour of Chang Lu, combined with the influence of his mother over the Governor of Yih, and certainly owing also to the weakness of the house of Han, already tottering to its downfall, sapped as it was by the war of defence, then waged by the religious associates. We have seen that Chang Lu in the end saved his people by surrendering to Ts'ao Ts'ao, the final destroyer of the house of Han, thus at the same time acquiring for himself and his sons high titles of nobility. He was thus also the man who ennobled the line of Patriarchs, or so-called Taoist popes, who have descended from him to the present day, and thus has commanded the respect which rulers and people in China have in all ages paid to that line because of its length and antiquity. But in the history of China his name is important for nothing so much as for the fact that he saved from destruction the Church of his grandfather Chang Ling, when it received its baptism from the house of Han in streams of blood.



PRINCIPLES OF PRACTICE AND  
ENLIGHTENMENT OF THE SOTO ZEN SHU<sup>1</sup>

By ZENKAI OMORI. (ABSTRACT)

## INTRODUCTION.

1. THE most vital business of all Buddhists is to have a thorough understanding of birth and death. When you find the Buddha in the midst of birth and death, then you no longer see birth and death. When it is understood that birth and death is neither more nor less than Nirvana itself, there is no birth and death which you wish to shun, nor Nirvana which you wish to attain. It is only then that you are freed from birth and death.

2. It is not easy to be born as a human being, or to gain an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the doctrine of the Buddhas. We must not then waste this life, the most excellent we can have in the midst of birth and death.

3. Life is transient, and no one on earth can resist impermanence. We go alone to the nether world, and all that follows us is our own deeds, good and evil.

4. Do not associate with people entertaining a false doctrine that denies the law of causation. This law is manifest everywhere and has no partiality. Were the law of causation empty, none of the Buddhas would have appeared on earth.

5. There are three kinds of karmic retribution in regard to time: (1) that which bears its fruit in this life; (2) that which does so in the next; (3) that which does so in some remoter future. These are called the three seasons of Karma.

6. Let it be borne in mind that the present life is only one; there are no two or three of it. How can we afford to waste it by the entertainment of false doctrines?

## REPENTANCE AND RELEASE.

7. The Buddhas and Patriarchs, out of their infinite love for all sentient beings, have left the gate of mercy open to the utmost extent, for they want to see every being enter there and testify the truth. Though there is no way to escape the threefold retribution of evil

<sup>1</sup> Abstract of a work recently compiled by the authority of the Soto School for its adherents.

Karma, repentance does much to lighten the burden, or even to clear away altogether the trace of sin.

8. Therefore let us repent with the devout concentration of our hearts before all the Buddhas of the past. The virtue of this repentance will make us free from stains, and enable us to grow within our hearts a pure and unobstructed faith, and strive ever onward. Then the self and the not-self lose their distinction, and the benefit derived therefrom extends universally over both sentient and non-sentient beings.

9. In the main the idea is: 'Though my conditions are such as not to favour the progress of my faith on account of the Karma of previous evil deeds, yet all Buddhas and the Patriarchs who have attained to enlightenment according to the teachings of Buddhism, pitying me, will release me from the bonds of Karma, and make me participate in their love. The Buddhas and Patriarchs in their past were like myself, and I shall in my future be like them.'

10. 'All the evil Karma that I have created in the past is due to my avarice, hate, and infatuation which I have cherished from time immemorial in act, in speech, and thought. Of all this I now repent.' In this repentance there will be no doubt of the spiritual help of the Buddhas and Patriarchs. Prostrate yourself, therefore, and lay bare your hearts before the Buddhas. Repentance and confession will extirpate the root of your sin.

#### ORDINATION AND INITIATION.

11. Next, you should most sincerely revere the Triple Treasure of the Buddha, the Dharma (Law), and the Sangha (Brotherhood).

12. Be not induced out of fear to believe in the mountain gods or any other spiritual beings, nor pay homage to the shrines of heterodox teachers.

13. To take refuge in the Triple Treasure, it is necessary to be perfectly pure in faith. Whether it be in the time of the Tathāgata or after his disappearance, approach him with folded hands, bow low, and repeat this formula:—

'I take refuge in the Buddha:  
I take refuge in the Dharma:  
I take refuge in the Sangha.'

14. The merit of the Triple Refuge is sure to mature at the time of a responsive communion between the disciple and the Protector. Be he deva or man, dweller in the lower regions, demon or animal, he is sure to come to take refuge in the Triple Treasure when the responsive communion is established. Having taken the Triple



Refuge let him increase this merit in whatever stage of existence, and he is sure ultimately to mature the most perfect wisdom.

15. Next you should be initiated into the threefold comprehensive precepts of purity, comprising (1) all decorous behaviour, (2) all good deeds, and (3) love to all sentient beings. After this you should be initiated into the ten grave prohibitory precepts: (1) Do not kill; (2) Do not steal; (3) Do not commit adultery; (4) Do not lie; (5) Do not sell liquor; (6) Do not speak of others' shortcomings; (7) Do not praise yourself and blame others; (8) Do not grudge charities; (9) Have no anger; (10) Do not speak ill of the Triple Treasure.

16. To be initiated into all these precepts is to attain to Buddhahood. The initiated enter the same rank as all the Buddhas, they are verily children of the Buddhas.

17. All the Buddhas are always working, and embrace all individual beings in their infinite wisdom. All individual beings, when they come to live in it, recognize no distinction between the self and the not-self. When this consummation is attained, every being in the universe, be it the earth itself, or a form of vegetation, or a fence post, or a piece of brick, performs the work of a Buddha; inspired by the spiritual influence of the Buddhas, even inanimate things lead us to the state of enlightenment. This is called the merit of non-doing; this is the awakening of the heart of wisdom (*Bodhi-citta*).

#### THE AWAKENING OF THE DESIRE TO BENEFIT OTHERS.

18. By the awakening of the Wisdom-heart is meant the awakening of the earnest desire and effort to help all sentient beings to reach the further shore before one has crossed the stream oneself. In whatever situation let a man at the first opportunity awaken in himself a desire to help others before himself.

19. With this desire even a maiden of seven summers may be a spiritual leader of the four multitudes of beings. That spirituality has nothing to do with the sexes is the most wonderful law in the teachings of the Buddhas.

20. After the Wisdom-heart is awakened, a man may transmigrate in the six paths or the four forms of existence; but his transmigration will still be turned into the prayer and practice of wisdom. There may be some whose merit for Buddhahood is already mature, and yet they would turn it all over to their fellow beings to help them to attain to Buddhahood. There may be others who never attain to Buddhahood though their merits are fully matured, for it is their desire to serve others and make them cross over to the further shore.

21. There are four ways to serve others: (1) Charity; (2) Loving words; (3) Benefiting deeds; (4) Sharing with others.

(1) By Charity is meant not coveting. Mind not how small your gift may be—even a phrase or a verse of the Buddhas' teachings; it may be the planting of a seed of goodness not only in this life but in the next. Only let there be no thought of reward in helping others. Not only the building of a bridge or the provision of a ferry-boat is a work of charity, but so are all forms of benefiting life, commercial and industrial.

22. (2) By loving words we mean speaking tenderly to all sentient beings who are impartially regarded with lovingkindness. Praise those who are virtuous, pity those who are deficient in virtue. Loving words gain the hearts of enemies and keep the virtuous peacefully together. Let us learn that loving words have power to make the heavens revolve.

23. (3) By loving deeds we mean contriving means to benefit others, be they noble or humble—only a helpless tortoise or a sick sparrow—without ever thinking of reward. The ignorant may say, 'Others may be benefited, but what about one's own benefit?' This is not so, however. Benefiting deeds benefit equally and impartially one's self as well as others.

24. (4) Sharing with others means non-contradiction. The human Tathāgata appeared among human beings, and shared his fate with men. There is this spiritual law, that when otherness is identified with selfness, selfness in turn becomes identified with otherness.

25. Such is the significance of the deed growing out of the Wisdom-heart. Let us reverently bow before the spiritual merit that extends over all beings who, thus received and embraced by all the Buddhas, are helped to cross over the stream.

#### UPHOLDING AND GRATITUDE.

26. Sentient beings inhabiting this earth are destined by their Karma to have the Wisdom-heart awakened in them. Their wish to be born in this world is fulfilled: why should they not be thankful for having seen the Buddha?

27. Blessed indeed are we who have come in the days of the good Dharma. Does not the Buddha say, 'If one recognizes a master who teaches perfect wisdom, do not ask of what caste he is, do not attend to his outward features, do not consider his shortcomings or criticize his practices, revere his wisdom and bow before him respectfully three times a day'?

28. That we can see the Buddha and listen to his teachings is due to the transmission and maintenance of the good Dharma by our Buddhas and Patriarchs successively. We ought to be grateful for the gift of even one phrase or one portion of the Dharma. How



much more ought we to be grateful for the incomparable gift of the eye-treasury of the good law.

29. The proper way to show our gratitude is by the righteous upholding of our daily life, not to waste it, not to spend (our time) selfishly.

30. Time passes more swiftly than a flying arrow. With whatever craft and contrivance, we are unable to restore one day that is gone by. A life of one hundred years spent in idleness is indeed a sorrowful existence. A man may live as the slave of the senses for one hundred years, only let him succeed in upholding one day of his life in the Law, and this one day will not only compensate the lost hundred years, but meritoriously influence the coming life of many a year. The living of one day is a precious existence. It is only through the righteous upholding of ourselves in the Law that the meritorious upholding of all the Buddhas becomes manifest. Accordingly a righteous upholding of one day is the seed of all Buddhahood, of the righteous upholding of all the Buddhas themselves.

31. 'All the Buddhas' means no other than Shaka-Muni himself. And this Shaka-Muni is nowhere but in one's own mind. The Buddhas of all ages, past, present, and future, become Shaka-Muni at their attainment of Buddhahood; i.e. they are all of the one Mind. Find out what this one Mind is, and by so doing you will really show your gratitude for the Buddhas.

## 10

## BUDDHIST INFLUENCE UPON THE JAPANESE<sup>1</sup>

BY M. ANESAKI (ABSTRACT)

BUDDHISM came to Japan in the midst of clan strife, and its embodiment in the Constitution proclaimed by Prince Shotoku (A.D. 593-621) marked an epoch in Japanese history. In the first Article the Prince laid down that the harmony of all beings was founded on faith in the Three Treasures. Works of art and practices of charity aided the promulgation of the new ideal. A bronze statue of Buddha dedicated by the Princess Consort to the spirit of the departed Prince bore an

<sup>1</sup> As another paper also was communicated by Prof. Anesaki, this abstract is limited to the subject originally selected by him, the Buddhist doctrine of the Communion of Saints.

inscription which proves that the idea of attaining enlightenment in communion with the deceased, in whose memory and for whose sake the relatives of the deceased dedicate some meritorious works to Buddha, had already entered Japan. Buddhism teaches no eternal damnation. Every being will, though now plunged in sins, attain one day the supreme bliss of enlightenment, however long the way may be. If the deceased were in Buddha's land, he would look for the spiritual good of those who did pious works in his name. If the contrary, the living might help the soul of their dear one in bringing him further on the way to bliss. Dedications with this intention are called works done 'for the sake of Bodhi' or 'Ekō' (*Prapñāṇā*). With the Japanese Buddhists the community of believers extends to all spirits in any states of existence. Travellers in Japan will see monumental stones raised by the roadside, with the nearly uniform inscription, *Sangai Banrei Kuyō no Tō*. It means 'the Tope erected for the (spiritual) benefit of all the spirits in the three worlds'. The erection is usually the work of a private person, and is carried out with solemn ceremony and recitations of sacred texts. The practice has even been extended to enemies in war. After the Korean expedition in the sixteenth century, the Prince of Satsuma, the most warlike of the feudal lords, erected a monument in the graveyards of the Koya, with the inscription *Teki mikata jimbotsu bōryō kuyō notame*, i.e. 'Dedicated to the spiritual welfare of those who died in the recent war, both on the enemy's side and on our side.'

The Prince Regent further initiated various institutions for the encouragement of learning and the extension of charity. Temples and monasteries were built, and a central cathedral was erected near the capital, dedicated to the Buddha Lochana, one of the spiritual bodies of Buddha. The images of the various celestial beings named in the sacred texts furnish the best relics of Japanese sculpture.

In the following four centuries, known as the Heian period,<sup>1</sup> the organization of the terrestrial hierarchies made great advances. The Hiei school on the mountain near Kyōtō was founded on the teachings of the 'Lotus of the True Law', and propagated the belief in the Buddha who is a manifestation of the Eternal Buddha. Faith in him was the centre of all virtue. On the other hand, the Buddhism of the Tōji school was an extreme pantheism, affirming that everything is a manifestation, or even the body, of Buddha himself. The consolidation of the state, and the growing luxury of the court and the capital promoted the prosperity of the priests, and led to the elaboration of ritual and the refinement of sentiment. Buddhist art transferred itself to painting, and still more to poetry and literature. The bliss of the Buddha-lands, and the close communion of our spirits with

<sup>1</sup> Heian is a name of Kyōtō, to which the capital was removed in 794.



the saints in the heavenly worlds, were depicted in brilliant colours and complicated groups. More influential still was the sympathy towards human incidents and the beauty of nature expressed chiefly in lyrical poems and romantic stories. These sympathies are summed up in one word, 'aware.' It means literally 'pity', but pity in a very special and profound sense. These sympathetic touches towards man and nature were always, or nearly so, interwoven with one another. The novelists of the Heian period knew nothing sympathetic in human incidents apart from the 'aware' in nature. What made that nature appeal to the human heart was the influence of Buddhism. That influence was based on the idea of the spiritual communion among all beings, and especially on the simile of the rain nourishing all the plants, in the fifth chapter of the 'Lotus'. The influence the 'Lotus', read and copied as a sacred work, exercised upon the Japanese, and its contribution to the growth of sympathy and the refinement of feeling, can never be over-estimated.

The pomp and luxury of the court life and the hierarchic systems unhappily produced corruption: and the true religious spirit began to demand something more lasting than the partial satisfaction of emotion, through appeals to the eye and ear. The pioneer of the new movement was Kūya (A.D. 901-72). His faith in Amita, the Redeemer in the Western Land of Bliss, was expressed in singing songs in praise of the Buddha, very similar to the practice of the Italian *Disciplinati di Gesù Cristo*. The propagation of the faith by singing and dancing was soon followed by the writings and paintings of Genshin (or Eshin, A.D. 942-1017), who lived in a monastery on Mount Hiei. His chief work, entitled *Wōjō Yōsha*, i.e. 'the principles (of the teachings on) the birth (in Amita's land),' opened with a description of the miseries of various states of existence, and then revealed the primal vows of Amita to save all those who believe in his name. It culminated in a brilliant delineation of the bliss of the Pure Land, and especially of the communion of saints. The writer uses the very expression *shōju guye*, which means exactly 'the communion of saints'. Ryonin, also a monk of the Hiei (A.D. 1072-1132), was both more mystic in spirit and more popular in practice. Deeply impressed by the gospel of salvation by Amita's grace, he believed himself to have received a direct revelation from the Buddha in a verse which affirmed that all men are common in their stock, and all works of piety are communicated and shared by those who are one in heart and faith. On this basis he tried to organize a society in which every believer should invoke Amita in faith that his devotion would secure the benefit of the whole communion. The god Kuvera was said to have appeared to the teacher in order to be enrolled at the opening of the list.

The hero and saint of the Amita-Buddhism appeared in the person of Hōnen (A.D. 1133-1212),<sup>1</sup> whose religion continues to this day to be the most influential among the common people, and had a great indirect effect on Japanese literature. The greatest Japanese epic, not in volume but in merit and significance for later ages, is the *Heike-monogatari*, i.e. 'The Fall of the Heike or Taira Clan.' This clan, which had succeeded to the glory of the Fujiwaras, was crushed by another military clan in 1185, after a brilliant era of only thirty years. Its fall deeply impressed the popular mind. A poet, who probably lived in the thirteenth century, took up the rise and fall of the Taira as the subject of a narrative work, and Hōnen himself played a part in the episodes. One general of the falling clan, captured by the enemy, and another of the rising clan, disgusted with the horrors of battle, were converted to Hōnen's teaching. The epic, which opens with the preaching of the impermanency of worldly glories, closes with the gospel of salvation and the communion of faith. An ex-Empress, daughter to the head of the fallen clan, who lost all her kinsmen together with the Emperor, her only son, in the last battle, lives in retirement in an obscure nunnery among the hills near the capital. The ex-Emperor, father of her dead husband, visits her, and she relates her sad experiences and the consolations of her faith in spiritual communion and the efficacy of devotion for the sake of her dead son and lost kinsmen. These narrations are the most touching in the poem: they are in reality nothing but confessions of contemporary Buddhism, spoken by the most pitiful and sympathetic figure of the epic. The influence of the epic on the later literature has been enormous.

[The latter part of the paper described the rise of the Zen School (in the age following the thirteenth century), which is the subject of an independent paper by Mr. Omori, p. 128.]

In conclusion, the author observed that the establishment of a firm military government in the beginning of the seventeenth century largely changed the aspect of society. The adaptation of Confucian ethics led to the decline of the Buddhist idealistic universalism in favour of a rigid morality of order and obedience. Whether the Buddhist ideals have gone for ever, or can be revived, only the coming generations can decide.

<sup>1</sup> See the author's paper (No. 4, p. 122) on this saint.



## 11

## A JAPANESE PHILOSOPHER ON SHINTO

By J. CAREY HALL

In the study of religions a good deal depends on the student's own point of view. In this, as in other subjects of research by the comparative method, the first requirement is to get a clear view of the objective facts upon which all or most of the competent observers are agreed. What are the ideals or objects of worship? By what rites, that is, by what combinations of words and actions are the reverential feelings of the worshippers expressed? and what influence, if any, have the worship and its associated beliefs upon the everyday social activities of those who hold the cult?

These questions have, so far as the old religion of Japan is concerned, been practically settled for English inquirers by the writings and translations of the well-known triad of savants, Sir E. Satow, Dr. W. G. Aston, and Professor B. H. Chamberlain. Dr. Aston's labours, confirmed in most of the essential conclusions by the researches of M. Revon and Dr. Karl Florenz, have definitively fixed the position of Shinto, the Way of the Gods, in the field of religious development. It is a primitive nature worship, modified slightly by later accretions from Buddhism and Chinese ancestor worship. It is no higher in the scale of cults than was the Sun worship of the Incas of Peru. The most astonishing fact about it is its survival, or rather its resurrection in the present day.

Comparative mythology has enabled modern European savants to arrive thus at a practically unanimous judgement on the position of Shinto. In this paper I propose to show that their conclusion was anticipated nearly two centuries ago by a Japanese savant, not only unacquainted with the wide range of facts familiar to European scholars, but belonging to the strictest school of Confucianism, Dazai Shundai by name (1680-1747). A word or two as to his position in the galaxy of philosophical writers who flourished in Japan in the eighteenth century.

Throughout the whole of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867), the best intellects of Japan concentrated their energies on the study of Chinese literature, especially the moral philosophy of the *Jusha* or Confucianists. For nearly a century the orthodox school, that of Chu-hi, the Thomas Aquinas of China, reigned in Japan as vigorously as in China itself. But the more deeply his writings were studied, the more pronounced became the distaste of Japanese thinkers for the strain of Buddhistic metaphysic which he had contrived to work

into an amalgam with the positive morality of the Confucian canon. Hence two schools of dissenting thought sprang up. One of these, following the views of Wang Yang-ming, the Descartes of China, went in for intuitionist illuminism. The other, tending to the opposite pole, reverted to the pure text of the Confucian books as its standard, rejecting the additions of later commentators of whatever school. It was to this sect of pure Confucianists that Dazai belonged. It furnished a brilliant group of writers on political and moral philosophy; but its contempt for the primitive beginnings of Japan's national history provoked a reaction in favour of native antiquarian research, in which the national religion naturally occupied the first place. The coryphaeus of the nationalist revival, Mabuchi, was a younger contemporary of Dazai.

So much for his point of view. He was free, at all events, from the patriotic bias in his study of his country's religion, and his intellectual powers were of a high order. We have all often heard of the three religions of Japan—Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism. This is the subject of Dazai's little treatise, the first portion of which I wish to bring to your notice. It is entitled *Bendo Sho*, a treatise on the ways, i. e. on the systems of doctrine, or rather of ethics, then as now prevalent in Japan. Of its sixty-five pages, less than thirteen, one-fifth of the whole, is devoted to Shinto: sixteen pages to Buddhism, and the rest, more than half of the whole treatise, to Judo, the way of the Literati, i. e. Confucianism. The following is his estimate of Shinto.

DAZAI JUN (1680-1747) ON THE DOCTRINAL SYSTEMS (WAYS)  
OF JAPAN (SHINTO).

The differences between the systems of the Schoolmen, the Buddhists, and the Theolaters (i. e. Shintoists) having been often orally explained to you, no doubt your lordships will have a general apprehension of the subject; but as it has been dealt with piecemeal and the details are hard to remember, I shall now comply with your wishes and put on paper the substance of my lectures.

That the three Systems, those of the Schoolmen, the Buddhists, and the Shintoists are like the three legs of a tripod, is a saying which has been attributed to Prince Shotoku (572-621), whom your lordships so deeply venerate. Its authenticity, however, cannot be admitted. The prince was a Buddhist, and consequently preferred that system to its rival the Way of the Schoolmen; but let that pass. A tripod must have three legs: and Shinto did not exist in the prince's time: it was not erected into a system till long after the prince's time. It



is consequently impossible that he could have included it as one of the three legs of the tripod indispensably requisite for the State. As your lordships are devoted admirers of the prince, I am aware that my remarks will be displeasing to you; but having been asked to give my opinion it would be disloyal were I not to give it without reserve.

When we look back over Japanese antiquity we find that from Jimmu Tenno (mythical date 660-585 B. C.) till the time of the thirtieth emperor Kim-meï (540-571 A. D.) there was no such thing as a Doctrinal System in Japan. Everything was in a crude and inchoate condition. In the time of the thirty-second emperor Yomei (586-7) was born that intelligent man known as the stable-door prince (Shotoku Taishi). He read books and acquired knowledge; and in the time of the thirty-fourth sovereign, the empress Suiko (593-628), whilst occupying the position of Administrator of the Government, he established offices with their duties, regulated clothing and dress, and promoted etiquette and music, thus giving the country government and the people guidance, and diffusing civilization throughout the empire. The stable-door prince's merits have earned for him the renown of a constructive sage. The prince's learning, however, whilst ample as regards Buddhism, was meagre as regards the Schoolmen. He was fond of the Buddhism he had so deeply studied; but in respect of the system of the sages of the Central Cultured State (China) it would seem that he had but little knowledge. Moreover, most of what he wrote has not been transmitted to our times, and there is consequently a difficulty in arriving at a correct judgement of him. Of late there are some who say that a book called *Kiûji Honki* (i. e. Main record of old affairs) was written by him, and it is highly prized accordingly. If we look into this work, thinking to find therein the real system of the prince, we find we are greatly mistaken. It is manifest that the dictum about the three systems being like the three legs of a tripod could not have been uttered by the prince. If, indeed, the prince had ever really said anything of the kind he would have been greatly in error, as I shall proceed to show. Although this point has been touched on several times before, I shall now dwell on it fully, as desired.

People nowadays believe that Shinto (the Gods' Way) is the Way of our Country, and that it is a distinct system which may be ranked alongside of the Confucian System and the Buddhist System; but that is a great mistake. The Way of the Gods is included within the Way of the Sages. In the Book of Changes of the Chow dynasty (*Chow Yih*, 1110 B. C.) it is said:—

'Observing the Way of the Gods of the Sky and seeing that the four Seasons fail not, the sage takes the Way of the Gods and therewith constructs his doctrine and the whole empire succumbs to it.'



This is the earliest passage in which the expression 'Way of the Gods' is to be found. By the Way of the Gods of the Sky is meant the sun, the moon, the stars and constellations, wind, rain, frost, dew, cold, heat, day, night, and so forth. All things between Heaven and Earth outside the sphere of human action are the work of the gods; and so the creation of all things is due to them. It is for this reason that perfectly successful action is called the Way of the Gods of Heaven. When it was said that the sages constructed their doctrine by the Way of the Gods, what is meant is that the Way of the Sages in everything acts with submissive respect as regards the sky, and in obedience to the orders of ancestors. Hence the former kings of antiquity in their government of the empire, gave their attention chiefly to the sacrifices to the sky and to the earth, to the hills and rivers, to the tutelary gods of the subject localities and the sacrifices of the ancestral temple; and by prayer and sacrificial worship they served the gods and spirits. On behalf of the people they entreated for good years, warding off calamities; and by means of divination they decided doubtful matters. Thus in all things they paid reverence to the gods and spirits as being their first duty, their object being to obtain the help of the gods and spirits after human efforts should have done their utmost.

Another remark must be made. Whilst the scholars and gentry act from their knowledge of principles, the common folk, being simple and ignorant, are mostly in doubt as to what to think on many subjects, and it would be difficult to bring them all to unanimity without calling in the gods and spirits, as an opportune resource. The sages, being well aware of this in their guidance of the people, proclaimed their commands in the name of the supreme ruler and the host of spirits. This is the sages' Way of the Gods. This is what is meant when it is said that the sages used the Way of the Gods to construct their system. In recent times there has arisen a school of rationalists, who say that the gentleman, being enlightened by reason, has no delusions about gods and spirits. They would throw over the gods and spirits altogether; some of them alleging that gods and spirits are a theory invented by the sages as a device for governing the people. These rationalists do not know the Way of the Gods. Confucius said:—'The gentleman stands in awe of three things: first of all he regards with awe the dooms of the sky.' The dooms of the sky, being the Way of the Gods of the Sky, cannot be fathomed by human understanding. Therefore it is that the gentleman stands in awe of them. In the *Chow Yih* (Book of Changes), in the section 'Connected arguments', it is said:—'The unfathomableness of the male and female principles (Yin and Yang) is called god.' The explanation of this given in the commentary of the diagram is:—'How mysterious all things are is



summed up in the word god,' (or gods, or divine). It all means that the gods and spirits are mysterious and unfathomable. Why it is that the commands (or dooms) of the sky are the business of the gods and spirits, not even the sages themselves understand. On what principle or for what reason it should be so, is beyond their ken. There is nothing for it but to accept the fact with awe and reverence. In this spirit to instruct the lower orders is by no means to hoodwink the people. It is not inventing the gods and spirits by way of a pious device. This is what the rationalists do not understand. Reflection will convince you of its truth. Consequently the Way of the Gods is contained by implication in the Way of the Sages. It is not a fact that there is anything that can be called the Way of the Gods apart from or other than that which is included in the Way of the Sages.

What is nowadays called the Way of the Gods is a made-up thing, got by grafting the Way of the Confucianists upon Buddhism. It would seem that the setting up of this construction was subsequent to the crossing over (from China to Japan) of the Buddhism of the Shingon sect. Thus in 806 A.D. Kengu (Kōbō Daishi), being a man of godlike understanding, and seeing that in Buddhism there are matters of all sorts, and thinking with longing regret on the great simplicity of the system of the wizards and spell-chanters of Japan, mixed together a compound of seven or eight parts of Buddhism with two or three parts of Confucianism and in this manner elaborated a sort of Way (or system).

His system (i. e. Ryobu Shinto) is a tissue of strained explanations, which could not have existed, as has been alleged, in the time of Shotoku Taishi. At the present day Shinto, in its services of the gods, makes use of the prayers and offerings in the style of the Shingon sect as handed down by the Acharyas and Gomashi<sup>1</sup> peculiar to it. This is a Way of wizards and chanters of spells, and is of no importance in the Way of the Gods. These wizards and spell-chanters are persons in the service of the gods and spirits, and consequently necessary to the nation. Hence we find that in the Chow Ritual there were, amongst the officials of the spring season, the Grand Spell-chanter, the Lesser Spell-chanters, the Mourning Spell-chanters, the Domain Spell-chanters and the Spell-chanters of curses; the Director of wizards, wizards and witches. All these officials were charged with the service of the gods and spirits as their main duty. Each of them had his assigned part in the sacrifices offered in the ancestral temple of the Emperor, in those offered in the fiefs of the nobles, and the less important sacrifices, as also on other great occasions of state ceremonial. This whole class of functionaries were concerned wholly and solely with the

<sup>1</sup> Priests who light a fire and then offer up prayers whilst it is burning.

service of the gods and spirits, and the performance of the sacrifices and invocations (or spells), and their way or method was handed down as a special tradition in their own families. What style of service it was that the wizards and spell-sayers of the Chow age practised cannot now be clearly ascertained; but we may be certain that it was not very different in its main features from the style practised by the Acharyas, fortune-tellers, shrine-keepers, god-masters, sibyls and *yamabushi*<sup>1</sup> of the present day. In so far as old times were unlike the present day, and our country is widely separated from the strange country (China), there will doubtless be found diversities of names and meanings. But the actual performances will not be so very dissimilar after all; for human nature and the principles of things are the same in all ages.

This Way of sorcerers and prayer-chanters, so different from the Way of the gentleman, must seem to the latter a childish performance, an outlandish or even ludicrous proceeding; but as it does no harm to the state, the sage emperors and enlightened kings of old did not interfere with it. As it was for the service of the gods, they said, We shall leave it to them; and so they made use of it and included its professionals in the official hierarchy. In later ages when it went so far as to make sacrificial victims of men, they put it under control. Of course nothing of the kind was allowed in the time of the former kings. Seeing, then, that sorcerers and prayer-chanters have a special Way of their own, apart from the Way of ordinary people, what use would it be for ordinary people to learn this peculiar Way? Men nowadays who study Shinto raise a god-altar inside a dirty house, and, dressed up in dirty garments, present dirty offerings, worshipping the gods early and late in the style of the sorcerers and prayer-chanters, belittling and pestering the gods and spirits; until at last some of these devotees go mad. What the present day Shintoists call the 'Spirit-light' is the Buddhistic Nyorai (i. e. Tathagata). What they call the 'Spirit-light of the heart' is the Buddhistic heart-Amida, the Nyorai (Tathagata) of original perception. Their 'root-country' or 'bottom-country' is simply the state of after death. Their inner and outer purification, their purifying of the six roots and so forth, is merely the Buddhistic way of eliminating the troubled mind and seeking *Bodhi* (enlightenment). In particular, the purifying of the six roots, mentioned in the *Hokke-Kyo* (the Sutra of the Lotus of the Good Law), has simply been stolen by the Shintoists and set up as a part of their doctrine. Altogether the Shintoists of to-day, whether they be of the *Yui-ichi* or the *San-gen* schools, are based on Buddhism, from which they have selected what suited them; and though outwardly

<sup>1</sup> Buddhist devotees who annually repair to a mountain to give themselves up to prayer and religious exercises—only from the Shingon and Tendai sects.



they are opposed to Buddhism, in reality they are both of the same kidney.

There is no mention in the ancient records nor in the ancient popular writings of what nowadays is called Shinto, because there was nothing of the sort in existence. From this you will understand that in the time of Shotoku Taishi the Way of the Gods had not come into being. As I have said above, the phrase, Way of the Gods, occurs in the *Chow Yih* (Book of Changes), meaning one of the subjects included in the Way of the Sages; yet the notion that the Way of the Gods means the Way of wizards and prayer-chanters is widely entertained at the present day, and many, from the highest in the land to the lowest ranks of the people, are taking to the study of it with gusto. This is a great misapprehension; a downright fallacy. The Way of wizards and prayer-chanters is concerned exclusively with the services of the gods and spirits, and has no connexion with self-discipline, the regulation of the family, the government of the country, or the administration of the empire. Consequently, every one outside of the ranks of the wizards and prayer-chanters can well afford to remain in ignorance of it, without the smallest disadvantage. It is not a study fit for scholars and gentlemen to pursue.

In the Central Culture State (China), towards the close of the Chow dynasty, the Way (or system) of Meh Ti had great vogue and was considered as on a par with that of Confucius; insomuch that the two names were bracketed together, 'Kung-Meh,' their followers, the literates and Mehists, being rivals. Meh's system subsequently fell into decay; and under the Han dynasty the Hwang-Lao Way rose into prominence. This was the system of Lao-tsze (Taoism); but in order to add dignity to it, the Yellow Emperor, Hwang Ti, was claimed as its founder; and so the two names Hwang-(Ti) and Lao-(tsze) were joined together. From the time of the eastern Han dynasty (A. D. 25-220) Buddhism entered the Central Culture State and became widely disseminated. Hence it happened that subsequent to that era, the Ways of Shaka (Buddha) and of Lao-tsze were put in line with the Way of Confucius, and the phrase *Ju-shih-tao* (i. e. Confucianists, Buddhists, and Taoists) came into use. The giving of the name 'Way' (Tao) to Lao-tsze's system is because his teaching was on the subject of Tao (Way). These are what are known as the *San-Kiao* (i. e. Three doctrines or moral systems). In our country the doctrine of the Way (Taoism) has had no vogue. The recent vogue of Shinto is due to the notion that it is our country's system; people not being aware that this tradition of wizards and prayer-chanters is an extremely insignificant sort of Way. The notion that, Confucianism being the Way of China and Buddhism being the Way of India, that of the gods is the Way of Japan, and that, these three being like the three

legs of a tripod and of equal worth, no one of them ought to be discarded, is, I consider, a misconception much to be regretted.

A few words of comment on Dazai's estimate of Shinto may be offered. First of all, be it noted that it is in substantial agreement with the conclusions of European savants; the meagre and primitive elements of Shinto hardly deserve to be called a religion, certainly not a system of religion. Secondly, Dazai's method of inquiry is, in substance, that of modern savants, the method of comparison. But how scanty were Dazai's materials as compared with those now open to inquirers. The only country besides his own with whose history, manners, and ideas he was acquainted was China; and in resorting to the Ritual of the Chow dynasty for a parallel with Japan's religious phenomena he went to the right place. The religious evolution of the Japanese people in the sixth and seventh centuries of our era was at the same stage as that of China as depicted in the Chow ritual some eighteen centuries earlier. In both cases religion then consisted of two elements, ceremonies and magic. The ministers of religion were wizards and witches and chanters of spells. That there was any element of moral teaching combined with these ideas was the false pretension which evoked Dazai's crushing refutation.

## 12

# LES ANCIENS RITUELS DU SHINTŌ CONSIDÉRÉS COMME FORMULES MAGIQUES

PAR MICHEL REVON

Lorsqu'on étudie le Shintō à la lumière de la science comparative, on y peut remarquer un très grand nombre de points où, sous la religion, transparait l'antique magie. Dans un ouvrage récent, j'ai relevé, çà et là, les traces magiques qu'offre la Mythologie japonaise,<sup>1</sup> et je me propose d'étudier la question d'une manière systématique dans un autre volume, relatif au Culte, c'est-à-dire au domaine pratique où cette magie se manifeste le mieux à l'observateur. Pour l'instant, mon dessein est seulement de montrer, par un rapide coup d'œil sur les Rituels, que ces vieux documents sont, avant tout, des formules où magie et religion se confondent, mais où l'esprit magique domine encore le sentiment religieux.

<sup>1</sup> v. *Le Shintoïsme*, Paris, 1907, t. 1<sup>er</sup>, Index, s. v. 'Magie'.



Rien d'étonnant à ce caractère primitif des Rituels, pour qui considère leur antiquité. En effet, s'ils apparaissent pour la première fois dans le *Engishiki* ('Règles de l'ère Engi'), en 927 de notre ère, ces textes n'en furent pas moins, en général, d'une composition orale, peut-être même d'une rédaction écrite bien plus reculées. Ce sont des formules archaïques, dont les lettrés du *x<sup>e</sup>* siècle ne comprenaient pas toujours le sens, et dont la forme, arrêtée sans doute, dans nombre de cas, dès le *vii<sup>e</sup>* siècle, laisse assez entrevoir la lointaine origine des idées qui en constituèrent le fond. Si donc les mythes japonais, recueillis au *viii<sup>e</sup>* siècle seulement dans les plus anciens écrits qui nous soient restés, abondent en vieux récits où intervient sans cesse la magie, à plus forte raison devra-t-elle se retrouver dans les Rituels, c'est-à-dire dans des textes antérieurs, gardés avec soin par l'esprit conservateur du sacerdoce et maintenus d'autant plus fidèlement qu'on attachait, comme nous l'allons voir, une vertu spéciale à leur teneur.

Le mot *norito* (祝詞), qui désigne ces documents, ne peut guère nous servir à les caractériser. *Nori* signifie 'dire'; *to* est resté obscur, malgré tous les efforts des philologues indigènes; mais comme *norito* ne paraît être que le premier élément du composé *noritogoto* (祝詞事), fréquent dans les anciens textes, et où le mot *koto* (*goto* par adoucissement) signifie sûrement 'paroles,' on voit que le sens de l'expression est celui de 'Paroles prononcées.' Le choix de ce nom donné aux Rituels montre déjà qu'on semblait accorder plus d'intérêt aux mots qui les composent qu'aux idées qu'ils peuvent contenir. 'Paroles prononcées' s'applique moins bien à une prière qu'à une formule magique. Mais pour établir, contre l'opinion acceptée jusqu'à ce jour, que les Rituels ne sont pas de simples prières, il faut observer ce qui se trouve sous cette étiquette si vague de *norito*, vérifier si ces textes ne constituent pas plutôt des formules dont la récitation produit un effet direct sur la volonté des dieux, dont les phrases cadencées doivent être prononcées sans erreur, dont le rôle peut se combiner avec d'autres procédés magiques. C'est ce que nous allons examiner en feuilletant les 27 Rituels que nous a conservés le *Engishiki*.

Le Rituel no. i (*Toshigohi no Matsuri*) était prononcé chaque année, au moment des semailles, en vue d'obtenir une bonne moisson. Le *Nakatomi* (中臣, 'ministre intermédiaire') qui le récitait, comme représentant sacerdotal de l'empereur, s'adressait aux dieux en ces termes : 'Je déclare, en présence des souverains dieux de la Moisson : Si les dieux souverains veulent donner en épis longs de huit largeurs de main et en épis abondants la moisson tardive qu'ils accorderont,

la moisson tardive produite en se faisant dégoutter l'écume des bras et en réunissant la boue entre les cuisses opposées, je les comblerai de louanges en dressant les prémices en un millier d'épis, en maintes centaines d'épis, et, élevant haut les sommets des jarres (à saké), disposant en rangs les ventres des jarres, [je leur offrirai ces prémices] en jus et en épi.' Suit une énumération d'autres offrandes, parmi lesquelles nous remarquons un cheval blanc, un porc blanc et un coq blanc. Or, le *Kogoshui*, de l'an 807, nous fait connaître l'origine légendaire de ce détail : Mi-toshi no Kami, 'le dieu de l'auguste Moisson,' ayant jeté sa malédiction sur les rizières, les devins obtinrent cependant de lui, par le don de ces mêmes animaux blancs, le secret d'un procédé magique qui leur permit de sauver la récolte compromise. Notre rituel repose donc sur une histoire de magie ; et d'autres détails encore, qui reparaitront plus nettement dans certains des rituels suivants, se rattachent déjà à ce même ordre d'idées. Tout ce que je veux retenir de ce premier texte, c'est le caractère conditionnel des offrandes qui doivent obtenir le résultat désiré. La même précaution se retrouve d'ailleurs, dans les mêmes termes, vers la fin de notre document, où l'officiant invoque les dieux qui président au départ des eaux dont va dépendre l'irrigation. En somme, ce rituel est bien moins une prière qu'un contrat, une convention positive où les dieux reçoivent d'avance la rémunération promise en échange des services qu'on attend d'eux, et se trouvent ainsi moralement contraints de les rendre. Dans un hymne védique, qui accompagnait les rites magiques employés en vue d'un heureux voyage d'affaires, Indra est invoqué en qualité de 'commerçant,' 'sans doute,' dit Victor Henry,<sup>1</sup> 'parce qu'il vend ses faveurs aux gens pieux en échange de leurs oblations.' C'est exactement l'attitude que nos vieux Japonais prêtent à leurs dieux dans le Rituel des semailles, et nous voyons ainsi, dès le début de notre recueil, quelle sera la nature familière des relations entre ces dieux trop humains et les magiciens sacerdotaux qui vont exploiter leur puissance utile.

Le Rituel no. ii (*Kasuga Matsuri*) est bien moins ancien que le précédent (il ne date que du milieu du ix<sup>e</sup> siècle), et par suite il ne présente pas le même intérêt au point de vue qui nous occupe. On peut remarquer cependant que, des quatre dieux adorés au temple de Kasuga, les deux premiers, Take-mika-dzuchi et Futsu-nushi, étaient représentés par des sabres magiques, tandis que les deux derniers, Koyané et sa femme, nous rappellent la fameuse éclipse où ce dieu, par ses 'puissantes paroles rituelles,' contribua au retour de la déesse du Soleil. Le texte, d'ailleurs, implique encore, bien que sous une forme plus discrète, l'idée du lien nécessaire qui doit unir les offrandes aux services rendus ; car c'est 'en conséquence'

<sup>1</sup> *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*, p. 112, n. 3.



de ces offrandes qu'on demande aux dieux de protéger le souverain et sa cour.

Le Rituel no. iii (*Hirose Oho-imi no Matsuri*) s'adresse à la déesse de la Nourriture, une des figures maîtresses du plus ancien Shintô ; par malheur, le texte actuel ne paraît être qu'un remaniement du *norito* primitif, qui aurait été perdu. Il nous suffira de noter qu'ici encore, les fidèles de la déesse font avec elle un marché : tout en lui apportant diverses offrandes, ils lui en promettent d'autres pour le cas où la moisson serait très abondante ; bref, ils la séduisent par l'appât d'une prime. En même temps, ils demandent aux dieux des ravins d'envoyer avec modération les eaux nécessaires à l'irrigation des fermes impériales, en les assurant que, s'ils remplissent bien cette fonction, tous les intéressés, depuis les princes et les hauts fonctionnaires jusqu'aux derniers serviteurs de l'exploitation, viendront leur apporter, un certain jour, des montagnes d'offrandes, 'en plongeant la racine du cou à la manière des cormorans.'

Un texte plus intéressant est le Rituel no. iv (*Tatsuta no Kaze no Kami no Matsuri*), document très ancien qui nous raconte sa propre origine légendaire. Durant plusieurs années, des dieux inconnus ont gâché toutes les récoltes. Les devins n'ont pu découvrir quels sont ces dieux. Alors le souverain lui-même 'daigne les conjurer,' et ils se dévoilent à lui dans un rêve. Ce sont 'l'auguste Pilier du Ciel et l'auguste Pilier du Pays', les dieux des Vents qui soutiennent l'ordre du monde. Ils réclament certaines offrandes, la fondation d'un temple à Tatsuta, une liturgie ; moyennant quoi, ils 'feront mûrir les choses produites par le grand et auguste Peuple de la région qui est sous le ciel, depuis les cinq espèces de céréales jusqu'à la moindre feuille de légume.' Ici, ce sont les dieux qui posent leurs conditions. On s'empresse de les remplir, 'sans rien omettre.' Mais il semble que le souvenir des calamités passées ait laissé quelque méfiance ; car, en même temps qu'on fait les offrandes présentes, on annonce encore de futurs cadeaux, pour l'automne : si d'ici-là les dieux n'ont pas envoyé 'les mauvais vents et la violence des eaux', mais 'béné et fait mûrir' la moisson, on leur en accordera les prémices. Ce sera leur petite commission.

Les Rituels nos. v et vi peuvent être négligés, en raison de l'obscurité qui les entoure. On ne sait même pas en l'honneur de quels dieux ils furent établis à l'origine, et leur texte est trop pauvre pour qu'on en tire quelque chose. Le Rituel no. vii (*Minadzuki no Tsukinami no Matsuri*) ne nous arrêtera pas davantage, malgré sa haute antiquité, car il est presque identique au Rituel no. i.

Arrivons donc au Rituel no. viii, *Oholono-Hogahi*, c.-à-d. 'Porte-bonheur du Grand Palais.' Ce titre même nous laisse déjà pressentir le caractère magique du document. En effet, nous trouvons d'abord



ce Rituel défini, dans son propre texte, par les mots *ama tsu kusushi ihahi-goto* (天津奇護), qui signifient, selon moi : 'les célestes paroles magiques protectrices.' Il s'agit d'une formule dont la récitation doit éloigner toute calamité du Palais, comme ferait une amulette ; et ce qui le montre bien, c'est l'importance attribuée à la régularité parfaite des mots prononcés : car, dans un autre passage, on prie certains dieux 'Correcteurs' (*Naho*, 直) de redresser toutes les omissions qu'ils auraient pu voir ou entendre dans les rites ou les paroles de la cérémonie. Cette cérémonie elle-même nous éclaire pleinement sur le caractère magique du rituel qui en faisait partie. Nous en avons la description dans le *Gi-shiki*, au milieu du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle (v. Sir Ernest Satow, *Trans. of the Asiat. Soc. of Japan*, vol. ix. part ii, p. 192 seq.). Un cortège sacerdotal, où l'on distingue surtout les Nakatomi, les Imibe (prêtres abstinents, 齋部) et les vestales, parcourt le Palais en tous sens ; et en divers endroits, depuis la grande salle d'audience jusqu'à la chambre de bains, jusqu'au privé même de l'empereur, les vestales font des aspersions de riz et de saké, tandis que les Imibe suspendent des pierres précieuses aux quatre angles des pièces visitées. Nous observons ici, d'abord, une application de la coutume, appelée *sammai*, qui consistait à répandre du riz pour écarter les mauvais esprits. Quelle que soit la raison de cette coutume (simple appât jeté aux démons, ou, comme le suppose M. Aston, *Shinto*, p. 190, emploi symbolique de grains dont la forme représente un des aspects de la puissance génératrice, de la force vitale qui combat les maladies et la mort), en tout cas le rite en question était très pratiqué dans la magie japonaise. On éparpillait du riz à l'intérieur de la hutte où une femme allait accoucher ; dans la divination aux carrefours (*tsuji-ura*), on marquait parfois sur le chemin une limite, où l'on parsemait également du riz, pour écouter ensuite comme un oracle les paroles du premier passant qui traversait cette ligne ensorcelée ; et une vieille légende nous conte comment, lorsque le Fils des dieux descendit du ciel sur le mont Takachiho, des grains de riz furent lancés à la volée dans les airs pour disperser les ténèbres du ciel. Même emploi magique des bijoux pour combattre les mauvaises influences. A travers toute la mythologie japonaise on voit étinceler des bijoux, dont certains sont des talismans : bijoux que les dieux suspendirent, lors de l'éclipse, aux plus hautes branches de la clétyère sacrée, et dont l'éclat devait rappeler le soleil ; bijoux qui, dans un autre récit fameux, permettent de faire monter ou descendre à volonté les flots de la mer ; bijoux qui visent même à ressusciter les morts, comme nous le verrons plus loin. On s'explique donc très bien le rôle magique de ces bijoux rouges qui, promenés dans les appartements impériaux, font reculer partout devant leur clarté les obscures menaces de l'in-



visible. Un autre point encore à remarquer, c'est que, d'après notre description, les Imibe récitent le rituel 'à voix basse.' Les sorciers polynésiens aussi disaient leurs prières sur un ton bas et chantant, peut-être même sifflant, analogue à la voix sifflante et chuchotante qu'ils attribuaient à leurs dieux ; et au Japon même, dans la divination par la harpe (*koto-ura*), une des pratiques de l'officiant consistait en un sifflement compliqué. Au demeurant, toute cette atmosphère magique qui enveloppe notre rituel s'accorde bien avec son texte lui-même. On y précise d'abord les rites propitiatoires que les Imibe ont accomplis en abattant les arbres destinés à la construction du palais. Puis, on rappelle des souvenirs mythiques qui assurent d'avance l'efficacité de la formule récitée. On demande ensuite aux dieux protecteurs du Palais d'en écarter diverses calamités, dont plusieurs, comme la morsure des serpents ou les souillures d'oiseau tombant par le trou à fumée du toit, constituent des 'offenses' rituelles. Enfin, de même qu'on invoque les dieux Correcteurs pour toute omission possible, on insiste sur ce fait que les 'innombrables cordons de grains porte-bonheur' ont été fabriqués par les joailliers sacrés 'en prenant grand soin d'éviter toute pollution et d'observer une propreté parfaite.' Tous ces scrupules n'indiquent-ils pas assez l'importance magique qu'on attachait à chacun des rites de la cérémonie, comme aux moindres paroles de l'incantation ?

Le Rituel no. ix (*Mikado Matsuri*, 'Fête des Sublimes Portes'), est consacré aux dieux qui gardent l'entrée du Palais. On proclame leurs 'augustes noms' parce qu'ils savent expulser les mauvaises influences des dieux 'tortus' (*maga*, 麻我) et surveiller divinement les allées et venues de la journée. Ce sont, pour ainsi dire, des concierges magiques, et leur caractère même suffit à montrer la nature du *norito*, très court, qui leur est adressé.

Hâtons-nous d'en venir au Rituel no. x, qui est d'une tout autre importance. C'est le Rituel de la Grande Purification (*Oho-harahi*, 大祓). Le caractère magique de ce texte est si évident que M. Aston, qui définissait pourtant les *norito* comme des 'prières', emploie le mot 'formule' pour le désigner.<sup>1</sup> Cette formule était récitée par le chef des Nakatomi, à la fin du 6<sup>me</sup> et du 12<sup>me</sup> mois, pour effacer toutes les infractions, à la fois morales et rituelles, que le peuple entier avait pu commettre dans l'intervalle. Le seul choix de ces dates est déjà significatif : la cérémonie d'été nous rappelle ces lustrations qu'on pratiquait autrefois, le soir de la Saint-Jean, dans divers pays d'Europe, et la cérémonie de fin d'année surtout répond bien au besoin de renouvellement qu'éprouvent la plupart des hommes à cette date, et qui, au Japon, prend encore la forme populaire d'un exorcisme

<sup>1</sup> *Shinto*, pp. 3 et 294.

dramatisé, appelé *tsuina*, ou 'expulsion des démons.' La Grande Purification comportait divers rites ; mais on mentionne souvent le Rituel comme s'il constituait à lui seul toute la cérémonie, ce qui prouve bien déjà le pouvoir magique qu'on attribuait aux paroles récitées. Ce Rituel commence par déclarer nettement que c'est l'empereur qui 'daigne purifier et laver' (祓給比清給 *harahi-tamahi kiyome-tamafu*) les offenses commises : par où l'on voit que les dieux qui, un peu plus loin, vont être appelés à intervenir, jouent en réalité un rôle inférieur au sien et n'agissent, pour ainsi dire, que sur son ordre. Le droit d'absolution qu'il exerce ainsi dérive de la souveraineté générale que lui ont 'respectueusement' conférée les dieux célestes, aux origines de la dynastie, comme le rappelle aussitôt la suite du texte. Vient alors l'énumération des crimes rituels, volontaires ou non, qu'il s'agit d'effacer. On peut relever sur cette liste au moins deux infractions qui intéressent notre sujet. L'une est le fait de 'planter des baguettes' (*kushi-sashi*, 串刺) dans les rizières, probablement avec des incantations, de manière à dresser ainsi des bornes magiques sur le champ dont on se prétend propriétaire (c'est l'interprétation du *Nihongi-Shiki*). L'autre infraction (*maji-mono seru tsumi* 蠱物爲罪) est celle qui consiste à 'faire des sortilèges,' soit d'une manière générale, comme dans les histoires d'envoûtement que nous trouvons déjà dans le *Kojiki*, soit en particulier contre les bêtes du voisin, si l'on préfère joindre ce passage à l'expression *kemono-tafushi* (畜仆志), 'tuer les animaux,' qui le précède. En tout cas, le caractère chinois employé montre qu'il s'agit de magie noire ; et c'est pourquoi le *norito*, qui pourtant est lui-même un texte magique, n'hésite pas à la condamner. Notre Rituel indique ensuite que le Grand-Nakatomi, lorsque ces fautes sont commises, doit préparer d'une certaine manière des jones, destinés sans doute à fournir une sorte de balai purificateur, puis réciter 'les puissantes paroles rituelles du céleste rituel' (*ama tsu norito no futo norito-goto*, 天津祝詞乃太祝詞事). Les commentateurs indigènes ont longtemps cherché à quelle mystérieuse incantation pouvait bien faire allusion ce passage, sans voir qu'il s'appliquait tout simplement à notre *norito* lui-même. C'est le rituel 'céleste,' que les dieux révélèrent là-haut à l'ancêtre des empereurs, et dont son descendant fait répéter les 'puissantes paroles' : expression destinée à rappeler justement la vertu intrinsèque de cette précieuse formule. Lorsqu'on la récitera ainsi, ajoute notre texte, les dieux du ciel et de la terre s'approcheront pour écouter, et toutes les offenses disparaîtront, balayées, entraînées jusqu'à l'océan par la déesse des torrents, avalées par la déesse des tourbillons marins, poussées aux Enfers par le dieu dont le souffle chasse devant lui toutes les impuretés, et là, saisies



enfin par une divinité souterraine qui les bannira pour jamais. Manifestement, ces divinités ne sont que quatre rouages de la machine que l'empereur fait mettre en branle par la main du Grand-Nakatomi, du magicien qui sait les mots consacrés auxquels les dieux eux-mêmes obéissent. Au demeurant, pour plus de sûreté, on amène un cheval dont les oreilles dressées doivent inciter ces dieux à écouter d'une manière attentive, de même que les coqs chantants, le feu allumé, tous les procédés magiques du mythe de l'Eclipse devaient rappeler le soleil, ou de même encore que, dans un autre récit des vieilles annales shintoïstes,<sup>1</sup> on n'avait qu'à siffler pour que le vent se levât. Enfin, ordre est donné aux Urabe (卜部, 'devins') de jeter à la rivière les offrandes expiatoires, auxquelles une sympathie mystérieuse unit les péchés eux-mêmes, qui disparaîtront avec l'objet auquel ils ont été attachés. Le Rituel s'achève ainsi par un dernier trait de cette magie qui l'a inspiré tout entier.

Le Rituel no. xi est une invocation que les savants héréditaires du Yamato, descendants des lettrés coréens qui avaient introduit au Japon les études chinoises, prononçaient avant la cérémonie de la Grande Purification. On les voit présenter à l'empereur une effigie humaine argentée, qui devait jouer le rôle de bouc émissaire en écartant de lui les calamités, et un sabre doré sur lequel il soufflait avant qu'on l'emportât, dans le même dessein d'éloigner à la fois, après ce transfert magique, les fautes commises et leur support matériel. Ce norito d'ailleurs, par une exception unique dans notre recueil, est tout à fait chinois, de fond comme de forme, et c'est pour-quoi nous n'y insisterons pas.

Le Rituel no. xii, au contraire, est un des plus anciens norito d'inspiration japonaise. Son titre, *Ho-shidzume* (鎮火), 'Apaisement du Feu,' indique assez le but de la formule, qui n'est point d'honorer le dieu du Feu, mais de le bannir du Palais. Le texte rappelle d'abord, comme dans le Rituel no. x, la révélation céleste qui a confié à l'empereur les 'puissantes paroles' en vertu desquelles il est supérieur à ce dieu. On évoque ensuite le crime atroce de cet 'enfant au mauvais cœur,' qui fit périr sa mère en la brûlant lorsqu'elle le mettait au monde. Puis, on raconte comment Izanami elle-même, maudissant ce fils qui avait causé sa mort, remonta des Enfers pour enfanter la Déesse de l'Eau, la Gourde, la Plante des rivières et la Princesse des montagnes d'argile (水神, 瓠, 川菜, 埴山姫), quatre choses divines dont elle enseigna aussitôt l'usage magique contre l'incendie. Enfin, pour que ce dieu méchant 'daigne n'être pas terriblement vif de cœur dans le Palais de l'auguste Souverain,' on le comble d'offrandes qui achèveront de le séduire et de le dompter.

<sup>1</sup> *Nihongi*, vol. i, p. 106 de la trad. Aston.



Ce norito, d'ailleurs, était accompagné de rites qui consistaient surtout dans l'allumage d'un feu, aux quatre coins extérieurs de l'enceinte du Palais, avec l'appareil primitif (*hi-kiri-usu*) dont on peut voir un exemplaire au Musée de l'Université d'Oxford. Les officiants, ici, étaient les Devins, ce qui confirmerait encore, s'il en était besoin, le caractère magique de toute la cérémonie.<sup>1</sup>

Même esprit général dans le Rituel no. xiii (*Michi-ahe*), dont l'objet était pareillement d'employer certains dieux à en combattre d'autres. Ceux qu'on invoquait à cette occasion étaient trois dieux des Routes et des Carrefours, que leur caractère phallique faisait considérer comme 'dieux préventifs' (*Sahe no Kami*) contre les épidémies qu'envoient les démons. Le Rituel commence par rappeler, sans grand respect, à ces dieux protecteurs que leurs fonctions furent inaugurées au Ciel même, où ils servirent déjà le Fils des dieux. Il leur dicte ensuite ce qu'ils ont à faire : 'Toutes les fois que du Pays-racine, du Pays profond, peuvent surgir des êtres sauvages et malveillants, n'ayez point de commerce ni de pourparlers avec eux, mais, s'ils vont en bas, veillez en bas, et s'ils vont en haut, veillez en haut, nous protégeant contre la pollution par une garde de nuit et par une garde de jour.' En récompense, on leur présente des offrandes, dont on les prie de jouir tout en défendant les grands chemins 'comme un multiple assemblage de rochers.' Et pour finir, le célébrant insiste une fois de plus sur les 'puissantes paroles' de sa formule.

Le Rituel no. xiv était destiné à l'*Oho-nihe*, la plus solennelle des fêtes du Shintō. Comme tous les primitifs, les anciens Japonais éprouvaient une vive répugnance à goûter les prémices de la moisson sans des rites préliminaires, qui avaient, selon moi, un but propitiatoire envers l'Esprit du riz (*Uga no Mi-tama*). C'était seulement après avoir accompli la cérémonie appelée *Nihi-name* ('Nouvelle gustation') qu'on se décidait à manger le nouveau riz de l'année. L'*Oho-nihe* ('Grande Offrande de nourriture') était une *Nihi-name* plus importante, célébrée quelque temps après l'avènement des empereurs, et qui constituait pour eux une sorte de couronnement religieux. Cette cérémonie, fort compliquée, comportait une longue série de préparatifs où la magie tenait une large place, de même que dans la partie essentielle de la fête, où l'empereur en personne, entouré des dames d'honneur qui répétaient une formule mystérieuse, prenait part au repas qu'il venait d'offrir aux dieux ; mais le Rituel lui-même, assez banal, ne contient rien de particulier, et le seul point intéressant à constater, c'est qu'il baigne, comme toujours, dans une atmosphère magique.

<sup>1</sup> Pour plus de détails, v. mon étude sur *Le Rituel du Feu dans l'ancien Shintō*, Leyde, 1908, et cf. Goblet d'Alviella, *Histoire religieuse du Feu*, Verviers, 1887, p. 23 seq. et pass.



Un autre *norito* dont l'importance n'apparaît guère à la seule lecture du texte, mais dont la valeur magique se révèle dès qu'on le replace dans son milieu psychologique, c'est le Rituel no. xv. Son titre, *Mi-tama shidzumuru* (鎮御魂), nous indique déjà qu'il s'agit d'apaiser, de calmer, de fixer 'l'auguste Esprit,' c'est-à-dire l'esprit de l'empereur. Que va nous apprendre le texte même ? Après le rappel obligatoire du droit divin sur lequel la dynastie fonde sa souveraineté, après l'énumération des offrandes habituelles, il demande aux dieux de procurer un long règne florissant au souverain et, en particulier, de 'daigner le faire rester paisiblement dans sa demeure, depuis ce 12<sup>me</sup> mois jusqu'au 12<sup>me</sup> mois à venir' (*kore no shihasu yori hajimete, kitaru shihasu ni itaru made ni, tahirakeku ohashi-tokoro ni ohashi-masashime-tamahe*). On pourrait être tenté de voir ici la crainte que le 'dieu incarné' ne quitte le palais où sa présence, entourée des tabous que l'on connaît, assure la prospérité du peuple ; il semble bien cependant que ce 'faire rester' signifie simplement 'faire vivre,' et dès lors, on devine le lien qui unit ce vœu au titre du document. Il s'agit de maintenir dans son corps l'âme impériale, de la rappeler au besoin si elle paraissait vouloir s'en échapper, bref de renouveler magiquement la force vitale du souverain et de prolonger ainsi son existence. C'est le sens d'une cérémonie qui se retrouve également en Chine, que nous voyons mentionnée au Japon dès le VII<sup>e</sup> siècle,<sup>1</sup> et qu'on y connaît aujourd'hui encore sous le nom de *Chinkonsai* (鎮魂祭). Le passage du *Nihongi* se rapporte au 11<sup>me</sup> mois de l'an 685, et c'est en effet au 11<sup>me</sup> mois que notre fête était célébrée dans le sanctuaire des prêtres de la cour. Or, la glose identifie cette fête avec une antique cérémonie appelée *Mi-tama furishiki*, 'secouement des augustes joyaux,' qui nous replonge en pleine magie. Le *Kiujiki* nous dit, en effet, qu'au moment où la déesse du Soleil donna l'investiture à l'ancêtre des empereurs, elle lui remit dix précieux trésors : 'un miroir de la pleine mer, un miroir du rivage, un sabre de huit largeurs de main, un joyau de naissance, un joyau de retour de la mort, un joyau de perfection, un joyau de renvoi (des influences mauvaises) sur la route (par où elles sont venues), une écharpe à serpents, une écharpe à guêpes, et une écharpe à choses diverses.' Elle ajouta : 'En cas de maladie, récite à ces dix trésors les mots : *Hi, fu, mi, yo, itsu, mu, nana, ya, kokono, tari*, et secoue-les *yura-yura* (onomatopée). Si tu fais ainsi, les morts reviendront sûrement à la vie.' Les objets qu'énumère la déesse du Soleil sont des talismans dont plusieurs interviennent dans la plus ancienne mythologie japonaise ; quant à l'incantation, elle représente simplement la série des nombres, de un à dix, ce qui montre bien sa force

<sup>1</sup> *Nihongi*, ii. 373.

intrinsèque et indépendante du sens des mots. Nous savons d'autre part que cette même incantation était récitée à notre fête par les jeunes vierges sacerdotales (*Mi-kamu-ko*) qui exécutaient la *kagura* sacrée, à l'imitation de la danse d'Uzume dans le mythe de l'Eclipse, tandis qu'un Nakatomi nouait des fils, qui manifestement devaient retenir l'âme impériale, et qu'il enfermait dans un récipient clos. Ai-je besoin de rappeler ici les conceptions primitives sur la nature volage de l'âme, sur les procédés qui permettent de la ramener à son corps lorsqu'elle s'égare, sur les nœuds qu'emploient alors les sorciers, en même temps que sur les tabous qui, d'une manière générale, tendent à protéger la vie du chef divin? et n'est-il pas bien clair que notre rituel, si vague dans la forme, est nettement magique par les idées qui en constituent le fond certain?

Les Rituels xvi à xxiv ne concernent que les offices des temples d'Ise. Les nos. xvi et xvii sont une sorte de Rituel des semailles très abrégé, et adressé par un envoyé impérial, dans le premier cas, à la déesse du Soleil, dans le second, à la déesse de la Nourriture. Dans le no. xviii, il n'est question que d'offrandes de vêtements à la déesse du Soleil. Le no. xix, qui avait encore en vue la Moisson, mais qui était récitée par le grand-prêtre d'Ise, offre quelques détails plus intéressants. Les prêtres ordinaires (*Kannushi*, de *Kami-nushi*, 神主, 'maître du dieu,' notons-le en passant, cette étymologie étant bien significative au point de vue magique) et les *mono-im*i ('abstinentes de choses,' c'est-à-dire de choses impures, un autre nom des jeunes *mi-kamu-ko* que nous avons déjà rencontrées) sont invités à entendre les 'puissantes paroles' de la formule, qui fait valoir à la déesse du Soleil l'ample mesure des dons, immenses 'comme les mers et les montagnes,' qui lui sont apportés, 'tandis que le Grand-Nakatomi lui-même est caché dans les branches d'offrandes.' Les nos. xx et xxi sont des *norito* sans intérêt, que prononçaient, à l'occasion d'une autre fête de la Moisson (*Kan-name*, 'divine gustation'), les envoyés impériaux, tandis que le no. xxii était récitée, dans la même circonstance, par le grand-prêtre d'Ise. Le Rituel no. xxiii, pour l'intronisation d'une princesse comme vestale, nous livre une formule plus curieuse, dont on apercevra tout de suite le côté magique: 'L'offrande, pour servir de bâton aux divinités, d'une princesse sacrée de sang impérial, ayant d'abord observé, suivant l'usage, la pureté rituelle pendant trois ans, est faite dans le dessein que tu fasses vivre le Souverain d'une manière paisible et ferme, aussi longtemps que le Ciel et la Terre, le Soleil et la Lune dureront. Moi, le Grand-Nakatomi, tenant par son milieu la lance redoutable, avec la crainte la plus profonde je prononce cette consécration de la princesse par l'empereur, afin qu'elle puisse servir comme un auguste bâton.' N'avons-nous pas ici une survivance de 'l'abstinent' du Japon primitif, dont l'as-



cétisme assurait, sous peine de mort, la fortune et la santé du village<sup>1</sup>, de même qu'ici le sacrifice de la vierge impériale doit garantir le bonheur et la longévité du souverain ? Quant au Rituel no. xxiv, il ne constitue qu'un simple avis, adressé à la déesse du Soleil ou à la déesse de la Nourriture, de son transfert dans son nouveau temple, qu'on rebâtissait tous les vingt ans.

Avec le Rituel no. xxv, nous retrouvons enfin un texte d'une certaine étendue et d'un intérêt plus général. Il est intitulé : *Tatari-gami wo utsushi-tatematsuru norito*, 'Rituel pour le respectueux éloignement des dieux qui envoient des fléaux.' Nous avons déjà vu la même préoccupation dans le Rituel no. xiii ; mais tandis que celui-ci faisait intervenir les dieux des Routes contre les mauvais dieux, le Rituel no. xxv s'adresse directement aux démons eux-mêmes ; c'est donc une véritable formule d'exorcisme, d'un caractère magique encore plus apparent. Notre texte commence par rappeler comment le conseil suprême des dieux célestes, voulant 'pacifier' le pays avant la descente du futur empereur, envoya Futsu-nushi et Take-mikadzuchi, qui triomphèrent des dieux terrestres et 'réduisirent au silence les rochers, les arbres, et jusqu'à la moindre feuille des herbes, qui jusqu'alors avaient eu le don de la parole.' Après cet avertissement peu déguisé, et d'autant plus net que, comme dit le norito, les mauvais dieux 'connaissent bien, en vertu de leur divinité, les choses qui furent commencées dans la Plaine des hauts cieux,' on leur fait de nombreux cadeaux pour les séduire ; et non pas seulement les offrandes ordinaires d'étoffes, de poisson, de gibier, de légumes, de riz, de saké, mais encore, sous une forme naïve, 'comme chose dans laquelle on voit clairement, un miroir ; comme choses pour s'amuser, de précieux grains de collier ; comme choses pour tirer au loin, un arc et des flèches ; comme chose pour frapper et couper, un sabre ; comme chose qui part au galop, un coursier.' Enfin, après les avoir ainsi comblés de jouets nombreux et d'abondantes friandises, qu'on les prie d'accepter 'd'un cœur clair, comme des offrandes pacifiques et suffisantes,' on demande avec instances à ces 'souverains dieux' qu'ils veuillent bien 'sans daigner être turbulents, sans daigner être farouches et sans daigner nuire, se retirer aux lieux sauvages et purs des torrents de la montagne, et, en vertu de leur divinité, se tenir tranquilles.'

Le Rituel no. xxvi, moins ancien et moins intéressant, n'est que la formule employée, à l'occasion d'un départ d'envoyés en Chine, pour offrir des dons aux dieux marins de Sumiyoshi qui leur avaient procuré un port commode pour mettre à la voile. Remarquons seulement que, dans les circonstances de ce genre, les envoyés récitaient,

<sup>1</sup> V. mon article, *Asceticism (Japanese)*, dans l'*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* de James Hastings.



en dehors de la ville, un norito adressé en particulier aux dieux des Routes, et que, comme dans le cas d'abattage des bois destinés à la construction du Palais, on ne coupait les arbres qui devaient former le navire qu'après avoir accompli de soigneux rites propitiatoires, pour éviter la colère de l'esprit qui les animait.

Le dernier document de notre collection termine dignement la série. Ce texte (no. xxvii) a pour titre : *Idzumo no kuni no miyakko no kamu Yogoto*, 出雲國造神賀詞, 'Les divines paroles de bonne fortune des chefs du pays d'Idzumo.' Ces *miyakko*, d'abord indépendants, puis gouverneurs héréditaires avec un double pouvoir civil et religieux, finirent par perdre le premier, mais conservèrent le second. Ce sont eux qui, aujourd'hui encore, dans cette vieille province, se transmettent l'allume-feu primitif que leur ancêtre légendaire, le dieu Ame-no-hohi, avait reçu de la déesse du Soleil elle-même, et que chaque grand-prêtre d'Idzumo lègue à son successeur par la cérémonie appelée *hi-tsugi* ('perpétuation du feu'). C'étaient eux aussi qui, au VII<sup>me</sup> siècle, prononçaient à la grande fête de l'*Ohonihé* (cf. no. xiv) la formule qu'on nous donne ici. Dans cette formule, très longue, le *miyakko* annonce d'abord qu'il la récite, après divers préparatifs rituels, pour porter bonheur au règne du 'dieu visible' qu'est le souverain. Il raconte ensuite comment Ame-no-hohi, puis d'autres ambassadeurs célestes, furent envoyés sur terre pour préparer la descente du Fils des dieux ; comment Ohonamochi, le roi divin d'Idzumo, celui qui acheva de 'fabriquer la terre' avec l'aide d'un magicien étranger et qui, le premier, fonda un gouvernement dans cette importante région de l'archipel, fut persuadé par les envoyés célestes d'abandonner au Fils des dieux sa domination temporelle ; comment il se dédoubla alors, par une curieuse application de l'idée japonaise qui admet la séparation possible des âmes multiples de l'homme, attachant son 'esprit doux' (*nigi-tama*) à un miroir-fétiche qu'il fit déposer dans un temple du Yamato, tandis que son 'esprit rude' (*ara-tama*) allait reposer dans le grand temple d'Idzumo ; et comment enfin Ame-no-hohi reçut d'en haut l'ordre de bénir désormais le souverain, afin que son âge fût long, solide et heureux. C'est en exécution de ce commandement qu'intervient, comme il le déclare lui-même, le descendant d'Ame-no-hohi. Il apporte à l'empereur des 'trésors divins' dont, chose précieuse pour nous, il définit clairement le rôle magique. Ce sont d'abord soixante bijoux, blancs, rouges et verts. 'Ces bijoux blancs sont les grands et augustes cheveux blancs (auxquels votre Majesté doit parvenir) ; les bijoux rouges sont la physionomie auguste, pleine de santé, vermeille ; et les bijoux verts marins sont l'harmonieuse convenance avec laquelle votre Majesté établira de tous côtés, comme avec la lame d'un large sabre, son grand et auguste règne durable sur le grand Pays des huit îles.' Manifeste-



ment, nous avons ici un cas typique de cette croyance à l'action du semblable sur le semblable qui est un des dogmes essentiels de l'homme primitif. De même que les Mélanésien, par exemple, attribuent à certaines pierres une influence qui correspond à leur forme<sup>1</sup>, de même nos Japonais primitifs attachent à leurs bijoux une puissance qui s'accorde avec leur couleur. La formule continue d'ailleurs par d'autres applications de ce principe de magie imitative : 'Comme ce cheval blanc plante fermement ses sabots de devant et ses sabots de derrière, ainsi les piliers du Grand Palais seront fermement établis sur les roches supérieures et sur les roches inférieures ; de même qu'il dresse ses oreilles, ainsi votre Majesté gouvernera la région sous-céleste avec des oreilles toujours plus droites ; etc. . . .' Il est possible qu'à un certain moment ces rites soient devenus des symboles ; mais comment n'y pas reconnaître, à l'origine surtout, des pratiques inspirées par cette logique primitive qui a construit toujours et partout la magie sur les mêmes principes universels ? La fin du document vient d'ailleurs confirmer cette manière de voir ; car il y est dit, d'abord, que les offrandes sont faites en témoignage de 'respect de la part du dieu,' ce qui montre bien à quel point l'empereur est regardé comme supérieur à ce dieu lui-même ; ensuite, que les 'divines paroles de bon augure' que prononce le célébrant lui ont été dictées d'en haut, ce qui met en lumière tout à la fois la valeur intrinsèque de la formule et l'idée de révélation céleste sur laquelle on fonde son pouvoir.

Concluons. De cette étude rapide il ressort bien que les prétendues 'prières' de l'ancien Shintō sont surtout des formules magiques, établies d'après un plan général qui vise toujours à un résultat précis et forcé. Ce plan comporte, en premier lieu, le rappel des mythes qui garantissent d'avance l'autorité et l'efficacité des paroles rituelles. Quand on ouvre un *norito*, il y a bien des chances pour qu'on le voie commencer par les mots '高天原系...', *Takama no hara ni...*, par le récit de la délibération divine qui se tint sur la 'Plaine des hauts cieux', et d'où dérivent, non-seulement le droit politique de l'empereur, mais aussi sa suprême fonction sacerdotale, et par suite le pouvoir des prêtres magiciens qui ne sont que ses délégués. Tantôt le Rituel se contente d'évoquer cette investiture fondamentale, tantôt il nous raconte quelque mythe particulier, qui se rattache plus directement à la formule révélée. Dans tous les cas, par un renversement de l'évolution réelle des idées, on s'efforce de nous représenter les pratiques terrestres comme instituées à l'imitation de cérémonies célestes qui, évidemment, furent imaginées d'après les rites dont elles deviennent la justification. Tout en commémorant ainsi les mythes auxquels il

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 180 seq.

prétend se rattacher, le Rituel célèbre les louanges des dieux et dénombre les offrandes présentées. Assurément, quelle que soit la confiance du magicien dans la puissance de sa formule et de ses rites, il pense bien que ces procédés ne sauraient avoir toujours un effet certain, et, pour forcer la main aux dieux, il peut juger prudent de se concilier leur faveur par des flatteries ou par des dons. C'est pourquoi, tout d'abord, dans maintes civilisations, les incantations ressemblent à des hymnes.<sup>1</sup> En comparaison de ces élans, la sobriété de nos Rituels apparaît comme plus conforme à la magie : les dieux n'y sont glorifiés, le plus souvent, que par quelques épithètes, et l'expression 'comblé de louanges' (稱辞竟奉), si fréquente dans ces textes, n'y intervient guère que dans ses rapports avec l'énumération des offrandes, comme si l'officiant voulait dire tout simplement qu'il rend aux dieux les honneurs qui leur sont dus en leur faisant les cadeaux qu'ils sont en droit d'attendre. Mais si les éloges sont plutôt brefs, s'ils sont même remplacés parfois par des reproches ou par le silence, les offrandes, en revanche, sont toujours abondantes et longuement précisées ; elles sont même vantées naïvement, avec une complaisance qui pourrait surprendre, si nous ne savions qu'elles constituent d'ordinaire la condition essentielle d'un contrat où la partie humaine veut faire valoir son apport. La même exactitude se retrouve dans le soin avec lequel on s'efforce d'éviter ou de corriger toute omission, toute faute rituelle dans la formule comme dans la cérémonie. Enfin, dans certains cas, cette formule elle-même nous donne le meilleur critère de sa nature par les procédés magiques qu'elle contient.

Les 'puissantes paroles' du Rituel portent donc en elles-mêmes la preuve de leur caractère magique. Mais, pour s'en persuader d'une manière encore plus décisive, il suffit de le replacer dans son milieu, dans la fête même qui l'enveloppe. On constate alors que la formule, adressée à des dieux magiciens, par des prêtres magiciens, est entourée de rites magiques. Que les dieux japonais soient des magiciens, c'est ce qui n'étonnera aucun étudiant des religions comparées. Depuis la déesse du Soleil, invoquée dès le premier Rituel, et que les mythes nous montrent tantôt pratiquant la magie, comme lorsqu'elle secoue des bijoux pour produire des enfants, tantôt la subissant, comme lorsque les autres dieux célestes, après avoir eux-mêmes fait une divination et accumulé tous les procédés de sorcellerie pour l'attirer hors de sa caverne, l'empêchent d'y rentrer en l'arrêtant avec une corde mystique, jusqu'au dieu Ohonamochi, célébré dans le dernier Rituel, et qui est connu dans la légende, non seulement

<sup>1</sup> v. Victor Henry, *Magie dans l'Inde antique*, p. 12 ; C. Fossey, *Magie assyrienne*, p. 130, etc.



comme un héros qui éloigne les serpents, les guêpes ou les mille-pattes en agitant par trois fois des écharpes appropriées, mais encore comme l'un des deux êtres divins qui enseignèrent aux hommes la magie et la médecine, tous les personnages du drame mythique agissent sans cesse comme des magiciens primitifs. D'autre part, les prêtres qui s'adressent à ces dieux, et qui d'ailleurs prétendent à une filiation divine, ne font que remplacer l'empereur dans les fonctions religieuses qu'il exerçait en personne avant la division du travail social. Le Bureau des dieux (*Jingikwan*, 神祇官), qui est le premier entre les divers conseils du Gouvernement, comprend surtout : les Nakatomi, descendants du dieu magicien dont l'harmonieux *norito* séduisit la déesse du Soleil, et qui sont, en principe, les représentants sacerdotaux du souverain, donc les lecteurs du Rituel ; les Imibe, successeurs d'un autre divin sorcier de l'Éclipse, qui s'occupent avant tout de préparer les offrandes en évitant (*imu*, 忌) toute impureté, mais qui prononcent aussi deux de nos formules (nos. viii et ix) ; et les Urabe, dont le rôle principal consiste à exercer la Grande-divination par l'omoplatoscopie, mais qui interviennent aussi plus d'une fois dans ces textes. Or, l'empereur qu'ils suppléent n'est pas seulement le 'dieu incarné' de qui dépend le salut du peuple et vers qui convergent, on l'a pu voir, toutes les préoccupations des Rituels : il est aussi l'intermédiaire naturel entre les dieux célestes et la nation, le vrai descendant de ce Jimmu, premier souverain terrestre, que le récit sacré nous laisse voir comme un pieux conducteur de peuples, aussi soucieux de rites que de conquêtes, et qui, le jour même de son avènement, instruisit un de ses fidèles dans l'art secret des incantations (*Nihongi*, i. 133). Dès lors, quoi d'étonnant si les fonctionnaires sacerdotaux s'enorgueillissent aussi de leurs procédés magiques ? Enfin, les fêtes où ces prêtres-magiciens invoquent leurs dieux-magiciens sont fatalement remplies de moyens magiques dont nous avons noté les plus saillants, ça et là, et qui viennent renforcer l'effet de la formule. La magie est donc à la base du culte, et l'antique Shintō nous rappelle ainsi de la manière la plus exacte telle autre religion, comme celle de l'Égypte, où l'on 'mettait la main sur la divinité au moyen de rites, de sacrifices, de prières, d'incantations que le dieu lui-même avait révélés, et qui l'obligeaient à faire ce qu'on demandait de lui.'<sup>1</sup>

Un dernier point à constater, c'est que, comme on pouvait s'y attendre, l'élément magique dans nos Rituels est en raison directe de leur ancienneté. Les nos. i, iv, vii, viii, x, xii, xiii, xxv, xxvii, que la philologie amenait à regarder comme les plus vieux de la collection, se trouvent tous au nombre de ceux qui nous ont le mieux

<sup>1</sup> G. Maspero, *Études de myth. et d'arch. égypt.*, i. 106.

servi à démontrer notre thèse ; et si les dates trop précises qu'on avait cru pouvoir assigner à certains d'entre eux par un examen tout extérieur n'ont pas cessé de rester douteuses, le principe de leur ancienneté, tout au moins, paraît bien confirmé lorsque nous les éprouvons aujourd'hui avec cette pierre de touche de l'idée magique que nous fournit la méthode comparative. Nous voyons ainsi les textes s'ordonner peu à peu, se classer d'eux-mêmes sous nos yeux suivant la loi d'évolution générale. Bien plus, cette transformation peut être observée dans un seul et même document. Par exemple, le Rituel no. i, qui avait pour but d'obtenir la moisson, renferme des passages si étrangers à cet objet qu'ils ont bien l'apparence d'interpolations ultérieures. Or, ce sont les paragraphes fondamentaux qui traitent les dieux avec le moins de respect, en leur faisant des promesses d'offrandes conditionnelles, tandis que les paragraphes adventices contiennent déjà l'indication d'une reconnaissance moins calculée. Dans les premiers, on dit aux dieux : 'Si vous nous donnez beaucoup de riz, nous vous comblerons d'offrandes ;' tandis qu'on leur dit, dans les seconds : 'Nous vous présentons ces offrandes, parce que vous protégez notre empereur.' Entre ces deux expressions, il y a une différence qui marque bien le développement de la pensée religieuse. Mais la magie n'en demeure pas moins, comme une racine éternellement vivace, à la base de cette foi. Je n'en veux pour preuve que le Rituel de la Grande-Purification, qui, en condamnant la magie noire, montre assez qu'on croyait toujours à la magie en général. En somme, nos Rituels représentent un état de transition où la religion commence à s'éveiller, mais où la magie domine encore. Au demeurant, la même tendance essentielle persiste dans les *norito* plus récents : au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, par exemple, on y voit l'empereur octroyer aux dieux des titres honorifiques de second ordre, comme il ferait à ses chambellans, ce qui ne répond guère à la conception d'une religion épurée ; et de nos jours même, si les Rituels modernes ont perdu le souffle poétique qui inspirait parfois ceux d'il y a douze cents ans, ils ont conservé l'aspect et l'esprit de ces vieilles formules magiques.





SECTION III  
RELIGION OF THE EGYPTIANS





# ASPECTS OF EGYPTIAN RELIGION

## (PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS)

By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE

THE proper field of an Address is to call attention to the general aspects of a subject rather than to discuss details, to look to principles and their application more than to the separate facts. As I am addressing the General Meeting, and not only the Egyptian Section, I would therefore remind you to-day of the many very diverse aspects and interests of the study of Religion in Egypt, and the different schools of research which find scope in it. This line of thought may be useful, not only to the student of Egypt, but perhaps more in the view of other religions, as we have in Egypt a wider range of material than has been preserved in most other lands.

The sense of the subject which grows more insistent every year is the vastness of the pile of heterogeneous beliefs, cast into a land during thousands of years, interacting in every possible way and proportion, corrupted and confused, with a few main lines of idea apparently holding their own, but so changed by fresh influences that it is hard to say that anything remains what it was. If this is true of Egypt, probably it would be seen to be equally true of other lands, if we could review anything like the same length of their history. And this confusion is not realized by a general reader, because nearly all works on the Egyptian religion have been monographs on some one particular aspect of it. To one writer it has been entirely solar, to another entirely funerary, to another a matter of temples and ceremonies. Not only have the various sections of it been treated as if none others existed, but the incessant changes and mutations have been overlooked in taking solely the point of view of some one age that was best known. This being the case in Egypt, how much



more is it true of other lands? The continuity of beliefs from Sumerian to Semitic, from Mykenanean to Classic, from Pagan to Christian, is only dimly felt as yet; and before we can have a science of Religions we need to learn the laws of religious continuity,—what parts of beliefs are usually lost,—how a new faith gains a hold on what went before it,—what is temporarily eclipsed and rises again into power. To openly deal with, and weigh, and study the reactions of beliefs one on the other, like a problem of physics, is the only road to a real history of religions. This again is complicated by political and social history; the political dominance of one centre of worship or of one class of the population will be a leading cause of the dominance of the creed belonging to that centre or that class. These reflections which Egypt brings before us are inherent in any extensive view of religious history.

The different aspects of Egyptian religion which we may distinguish are—

Theologic,  
Funerary,  
Magical,  
Popular,  
Tribal,  
Psychological,  
Personal.

Though each blends into, and combines with, the others in various ways, yet each aspect has a structure and a centre of its own, which may easily hide from attention the other interests of the subject.

The Theologic view is a very wide one in Egypt. The splendour of the temples and the varieties of their structure attract the attention of all. The change from the simple hut to the brick chapel, the novelty of stone buildings copied from the brickwork, the expansion from a simple cell to a complex of chambers, the change from being a resting-place for the sacred bark through which the procession passed, to being a closed, dark, and mysterious shrine of a colossal figure, and the development of the vast and complex sanctuaries of late times,—all these changes imply corresponding alterations of belief about the divine presence. The architecture of the temples in its elements is copied from the house, and this is more clearly grasped when we see the models of the ordinary houses of the peasantry, which were made as shelters for the soul. These show that the house was the prototype of each stage of development of the temple, so that we have the central shrine, the store chambers on either side

of it, the colonnade along the front, the courtyard before the colonnade, the stairway to the roof, and the separate chambers upon the roof. This descent of the temple from the type of the house should be sought also in other lands; the basilica is a well-known instance. The decoration of the temples with figures and scenes of the ceremonial performed in the respective parts, is of the greatest value as showing the order of worship and the details of furniture which have entirely disappeared. Few parallels to such representations occur in other lands: perhaps the Panathenaic procession on the Parthenon is the best example. The reason for such figures in Egypt is learned from the tomb decoration. There the figures of the offerings, of the cattle and servants, were provided for the incessant satisfaction of the *ka* to all time; so the figures of the king performing the ceremonies would provide the incessant spiritual performance of the ritual, like a mediaeval endowment for perpetual masses. In other countries the absence of this belief, and the need of sheltering large bodies of worshippers, has prevented such ceremonial decoration being adopted.

The subject of the ritual and ceremonial of the temple-service has been explained by the agreement of the ritual papyri and temple scenes. The ideal of it is entirely different from the western sense of religious service. There was no prayer and but little praise. But as the temple was the house of the God, copied from a human house, so the king or priest carried out the daily routine of a servant in a house. First thing in the morning the fire must be lit; a lamp carried round to the master, as they usually rose before sunrise; then some incense burnt to give divine nourishment of perfume, incense being literally 'divine food' (*sennu-nuter*), like cooking the morning meal. The master's door was then opened, obeisance was made to him with protestations of fidelity, he was anointed, and the divine food of incense put before him. The servant then retired with assurances that he was ready to help his master. After the breakfast the servant comes forward again, goes through the same obeisance, and calls on him to awake in peace, declaring that his word is law, and that he will destroy his enemies. Then the master is washed, perfumed, and dressed in various clothes, anointed and decorated. The ground is sanded for him to walk on when he comes forth. Several offerings of incense and another washing represent the meals and cleansing during the day, and the service is over. Here we have the usual daily service to a great seigneur in Egypt, translated into the divine service rendered to the statue of the God. It raises the question how far other idolatrous rituals may



be similarly understood, a wide field of inquiry in ancient and modern religions. Unfortunately, of sacred books of theology—apart from funerary and magical works—we have but few examples; the ten books which described the worship, and the ten books of the Laws and the Gods, named by Clement as carried in the processions, have probably entirely disappeared, excepting, perhaps, a few hymns.

The theology of the Gods is by itself an overwhelming subject. Only a part of the fragmentary information that remains has been put in order for a few Gods. We need to write a history of each God stating his origin, local and racial, the myths concerning him, his nature, titles, and properties, his ritual, the places and fluctuations of his worship and importance, his unifications with other gods, and the decay of his worship and transference into other religions. It might be as practicable to do this for five hundred years in Egypt as for a like period in Greece or Italy; but this research has to extend over more than five thousand years. And as a preparation for such research there is needed a familiarity with the similar questions in a modern country—such as India—where each variation can be studied in a living state, and not as a fragmentary specimen. Not a single writer has been thus prepared for dealing with such work, and very few have paid any attention to the ever-fluctuating historical aspect of the theology. The modern frame of mind, brought up to the idea of a 'jealous God' that excludes other worships, must be entirely set aside; no such conception entered into the feelings of an Egyptian, nor indeed of most ancient worshippers. The God under whom a man was born and lived was *the* god to him, and equally it was right in his view for every one born under other gods to worship them. The common references to 'God' or the 'Great God' in religious inscriptions mean naturally the god of the place. The further back we can trace the history of the Gods, the more we find that they were originally separate; until remotely each is the local god or goddess of one monotheist tribe or town. Hence each man naturally worshipped his tribal god, and it was tacitly assumed that there was but one divine entity as far as he was concerned. This appears to be the basis underlying all the complex mythology, which was the result of unifying dozens of tribes into a single connected government. In Greek mythology the separate introduction of each of the divinities from different sources is the line of modern inquiry, and this leads us back to the same type of monotheistic tribes that appear in Egypt. How far this is parallel, and how far it may be general to other countries, is the study for the future.

The temples and the gods needed a priesthood, and from the titles



of priests that lasted into historic times we gather how this priesthood arose. The king was always regarded as the High Priest of his land, as was so generally the case in other countries; but different tribes began by entitling him the General, or the Warrior. Other public functions led to the priesthood, such as the Great Constructor, or the Great Commander of workmen, like the Great Bridge-builder in Rome. The inundation ruled the life of the Egyptians, so that the Manager of the Inundation was to one tribe their most potent man. And medicine, as in many countries, was a priestly art, so that the great Physician was also the medium to the god. It also appears that in some tribes the high priesthood was held by women, according with the important position of women in Egypt. One high priestess was the Appeaser of the Spirit, while the priest was the Favourite Child; another tribe called the priestess the Nurse and the priest the Youth. These facts of early society thus embalmed in the titles, show that modern theorizing on the origin of priesthoods is only a part of the truth—that medicine, and even leadership, was by no means the only road to priesthood, but that mechanical ability may be as much a means of ascendancy.

The system of the priesthood is still obscure; what were the exact services of each class; whether it were hereditary, or who appointed priests; how far certain classes might be promoted into other classes: who regulated the incomes of the priests from endowments; whether their position and privileges depended on royal charter, as in the exemption from public services by Nefer-ar-ka-ra; how far private persons gave offerings for the priest; these and many such matters are yet untraced, together with the names and successions of most of the priesthoods.

The cosmology was always a branch of theology, in Egypt as in most countries. The figures of the divinities of heaven, earth, and space are often represented, and inscriptions help us to understand them. How large a share the ideas had in ordinary views we can gather also from the prominence of the Cosmic statements in the Hermetic books; the main part of those works is occupied with Nature and Man's place in it. A view contrary to all Western thought is that of the sky as female and the earth as male; the female sky is also implied in the Nippur cosmology, where Tiamat, the female chaos, is cut in two to form the sky and sea. This suggests that a division between different sources of the earliest beliefs might be made by means of the sex attributed to earth and sky, for such a difference must be established at a very early stage. There were also other Nature theories of savage type which fell into the back-



ground, but which should lead to a long study with those of other countries.

But we must proceed to an entirely different view, the Funerary, which is so prominent that it might well be taken to hide all other aspects of religion. This prominence of the tomb, the pyramid, the stele, and the mummy is mainly due to the rise of the Nile-bed, which has blocked out of sight the Egypt of the living, and only left us the Egypt of the dead upon the desert. It is entirely a false view that we get by the present prominence of the funerary religion; it filled but a small part of the thoughts and activities of the Egyptian, though it is the greater part of what has come down to us. We frequently wonder at the numbers of rock tombs, and the amount of work spent in hewing out the great halls that are seen in the cliffs of Beni Hasan and Asyut. But a closer view shows that these were primarily the quarries for the stone, to build the palaces and temples in the cities below. When hewing out the blocks to serve for daily ostentation it was but little more work to prepare the future resting-place of a feudal noble or a Graeco-Egyptian commoner.

The recent view that provision for the dead is due to fear of their action on the living, rather than to affection for the departed, must not be pressed too far. The widow that may be seen visiting her husband's tomb and talking down a hole into the chamber, or nursing his skull for years, as many do, like Isabella and her basil-pot, or putting the skull up to view in a Brittany church, must make us see love as well as fear in the funeral. On the other hand, the feeling in a very savage state is well shown by the *Troglodytae*, who bound the body round from neck to legs, and then threw stones on it with laughing and rejoicing (Strabo, xvi. 4. 17). In Egypt the better feeling seems to have been leading from the first, as the dead were not only provided with food and drink, but also with their weapons, which would certainly arm them for any return to the living. The separation of all the bones, and the preservation of the skull out of the grave, shows that they were in no hurry to part from the dead. While the regularity of the attitude and position of prehistoric burial, the precise placing of each of the various kinds of vases always in the same part of the grave, and the details of the slate palette, malachite paint and rubber, and of the figures of female slaves, all show the existence of a permanent frame of religious theory about the soul and its requirements.

We owe the greater part of our knowledge of the Egyptians to their belief that the *ka* could enjoy the representation of earthly

objects. But for that, the thousands of carvings and paintings of daily life on the tombs would never have been made. How far does this principle apply also to other lands, such as Etruria? Were those scenes painted to enable the dead to renew his pleasures? The Roman *lemuria* required their black beans, yet they never were appeased by pictures. The great quantity of objects buried in Etrurian tombs, largely funerary models, would point to their beliefs in the activity of the dead being like the Egyptian: would then the paintings act likewise?

The formula of the stele is always a wish for material offerings for the dead, implying the same doctrine as the rest of the tomb; while at the same time the living with the gods is often wished also. The Roman only thought of appeasing the gods of the dead, the Greek of the farewell to the living, the Christian of a prayer for peace. The Egyptian point of view was of all those the farthest removed from ascetic perfection, yet in later times he cradled asceticism before it extended round the West. But throughout the whole range of Egyptian thought the sense of consistency is unperceived. The incompatible beliefs of very different races and origins were housed together and united without the least feeling of incompatibility. The future life was in the grave, or in the cemetery, or in the fields of the kingdom of Osiris, or with the Sun-god in the heavens, or awaiting a resurrection of the body, or any mixture of all of these together. This frank acceptance of incongruity may help us to understand incompatible statements in other lands. The theory of the underworld was changed and adapted to fit any of these various views of the soul; and the astonishing compound of all the prayers and charms and directions for every kind of future was assimilated, edited and corrupted, until it forms the Book of the Dead as we know it. The criticism of that work is perhaps the most hopeless of any in religious literature; yet in that we have the earlier stages which are otherwise gone beyond recall.

It is in the provision for the future world that the Egyptian differed from most other peoples. The requirements of this life—food, drink, weapons, clothing, furniture—were offered also by other races; but the provision for a different life, of the *ushabtiu* figures to work in the kingdom of Osiris, of the boat to follow the bark of the Sun, of the amulets to preserve the body for a resurrection, these seem peculiar to the Egyptian view.

The Magical aspect was an active one throughout the whole history. In even the prehistoric times tusks of ivory with heads carved at the end are found, like some used on the Congo to-day;



and the negro belief about charming a man's soul into a tusk and keeping it, seems probably connected with this. Strangely carved little slate figures in pairs are also probably for magic purposes. The tales of the early kingdom show that magic was then a main part of the beliefs of the people. And this lasted till the close of the old religion, when magical charms were perhaps more used than ever in the Gnostic times. These practices were associated with the theology; one of the finest incantations is that with a lamp calling on 'the Father of Light' to 'come down into this flame, inspire it with thy holy spirit. . . . O Logos that orderest day and night . . . Come show thyself to me, O God of gods; enter, make manifest thyself . . . in thy ape form enter.' This must have been an invocation to Thoth, the sacred ape, showing that one of the greatest gods was invoked to manifest himself by magic. These magical powers, in earlier times, were considered to place those who used them on a level with the gods, so that man could control and coerce the deities. But they are rarely for vengeful purposes, like most of the Western magic; they are more generally to obtain benefits, information, or enlightenment, than to injure another person. A main part of the magical powers existed in the use of words. The doctrine of creation by a word or fiat was familiar in early myths, and the magic power of names was firmly believed in till later times. The old Egyptian protested that 'the disdainful speech of Greece, with all its looseness and its smartness, takes all the strength out of the solemn, strong, energetic speech of Names . . . we do not use words, but we use sounds full filled with deeds'; for he hated that his ideas and spells should lose their power in Greek.

Yet to the minds of the bulk of the population perhaps all the aspects that we have noted were less thought of than the Popular Religion. From primæval times this centred on the animal gods; the cat or goose or scarab was venerated by the poor man, and the serpent was the guardian of his house and of his tomb. And down to Roman times it was not blasphemy of the great gods, but the murder of a cat which would raise Alexandria in a flame; it was the protection of their rival sacred animals which would set towns in deadly broil. The whole species of one animal was sacred in one place or another; hawks or rams or apes as a whole were worshipped in their special tribes, as shown by the animal gods' names being always plural. With this worship of the species went the keeping of one animal as an exemplar, and the sacramental eating of the sacred animal. We know that the ram and the pig were eaten yearly, the



bull at longer intervals. Was the keeping of a sacred animal for a time a compensatory act for the subsequent sacrifice? This has been the case in the various instances of keeping and feasting men for a time before human sacrifice. If so, the sacramental eating of the sacred animal is the essential fact, and the keeping of a sacred individual is only an incident, which developed into a prominent form of worship.

Another popular custom was the harvest festival under the harvest snake-goddess, who was the deity of the harvest month of Phramuthi, equal to April. The Osiris-Adonis festival has lately been fully expounded to us; and the Osiris of renewed vegetation was undoubtedly popular, as we see by the bowls of earth full of sprouting corn, which were the Egyptian equivalent of the 'gardens of Adonis'. This aspect of Osiris in his renewal, translated out of his original aspect as god of the kingdom of the dead, may probably have been the form most familiar in everyday life. The yearly festivals of the seasons are more thought about than the far-apart deaths in a family.

Dancing festivals took a large place in the religious life, as we may see in the present day at the visits to the cemeteries. An ecstatic old negress drumming a tambourine will be surrounded by a circling ring of women, wailing and dancing, stopping every minute or two to celebrate on their road to the cemetery. So it was in the times of Thothmes; so they danced on the festive journeys to Bubastis; and so the ascetics danced all night at their seven-week feasts. If the most scrupulous community would 'keep the holy all-night festival . . . one band beating time to the answering chant of the other, dancing to its music . . . turning and returning in the dance', like an orgiastic modern zikr, we may imagine how dancing would prevail in the less discreet circles.

In the yearly festivals a prominent feature was the saturnalia of the mock king. It survived till modern times as the Coptic Abu Nerus, which imitated the ancient style of the Egyptian king; and in Philon there is a full account of a similar mock king, showing that it has long survived.

At home there was also a private worship; the family had their wooden shrines like a cupboard, or the pottery figure hung up with a lamp burning before it. And the god was not only in the home but by the wayside, in the little sanctuary like a modern wely, with four columns supporting the domed roof.

Such religion filled the mind of the peasant and the common man—his family god above the burning lamp, his favourite shrine on the



way to his work, the frequent orgy of the dance and chant, the fight with his wicked neighbours in defence of his sacred totem, and the great events of the year, with the gardens of Osiris, the harvest feast, and the mock-king saturnalia. Such is the religion and faith that lasts through all creeds, that transforms its concrete ideas to fit any system that may come,—that makes Nebo, the prophet, the interpreter of the will of God, be still called upon by the Mohammedans as en Neby,—that makes the old prehistoric brood of Tiamat out of the abyss be still read of by all Christians as the locusts of the Revelation.

Yet another, and entirely different, aspect is that of the value of myth as preserving tribal history. In the historic times the extension of the worship of Amen or of Neit was the simple result of the extension of the political power of their centres of worship. The god followed the flag, in modern terms. So, before that, the fight of Horus and Set is stated to have been the driving of the Set worshippers down through Egypt and finally out of the land. And thus we must interpret all the early myths; a god was only victorious by means of his tribe, and the religious myths have thus preserved the memory of tribal movements which otherwise would be beyond the ken of history or of tradition. The earliest history of Egypt is to be translated out of its mythology. And this is doubtless true of other lands; the contest of Poseidon and Athena is tribal history.

Another aspect for modern study is that of the Psychology of the Religion. We have but glanced at all the other aspects, and this one is so vast that a mere list of the principles involved is all that can be stated here. All religious thought is broadly divided according to which end of the chain is regarded, that which looks to the Deity or that which looks to the man—the external or ceremonial religion and the internal or mental religion. The external religion has many motives, which we may class as—

1. Wish for blessings, (*a*) bodily, which was the general view of the Egyptian, and which brings in sacrifice and covenant; (*b*) spiritual, which does not appear till the late times in Egypt, though so prominent in Judaism.

2. Deprecation of wrath (*a*) by expiation for a wrong done, as an equivalent; (*b*) by a desire for forgiveness. The whole sense of deprecation seems unknown in Egypt, as the sense of wrongdoing is unknown to the modern Egyptian.

3. Wish for safety and blessing after death, always a strong motive in Egypt.

4. Aspiration for a spiritual ideal, of personal excellence or divine union; a late appearance in Egyptian religion.

5. Magic to overcome spiritual powers, (a) to force good powers to help, (b) to restrain bad powers. Usual in Egypt.

6. Tribal sense, (a) of need of union with the tribe; primitive in Egypt; (b) of devotion to the ancestral worship; strong in Judaism.

7. Social effect of numbers holding the same belief, (a) in repressing change and variety, (b) in emotional excitement, as at a festival.

8. Sense of splendour, vastness and mystery; material or ideal.

9. Veneration of historic associations and age.

For the internal religion the classification of Dr. James may best be followed. He divides its mental aspects into the Religion of Healthy Mindedness and the Religion of Repentance. The Religion of Health we may classify as—

10. Optimism, a cheerful satisfaction, which is truly Egyptian.

11. Mental drill and training, which was inculcated in the early Egyptian proverbs.

12. Philosophy, including Cosmology, which was strong in Egypt.

13. Dogma, also a favourite subject, but not declared essential in Egypt.

The Religion of Repentance seems unknown in earlier Egypt; it includes—

14. Conversion, strongly held in Hermetic works.

15. Guidance, an aspiration much more Jewish than Egyptian.

16. Saintliness, which only arose in the late asceticism.

17. Mysticism, which was largely developed at the end and on to the Christian age.

18. Hallucinations, of which we have no records till the end.

Our last aspect of religion in Egypt is one which has been so little regarded that I venture to state it the more fully. The later beliefs which are largely occupied with Personal Religion are a part of a general wave of feeling which arose in the sixth or seventh century before Christ. The sense of personal conscience, of individual responsibility, of inner balance of right and wrong, comes forward in Judaea, in Greece, in Egypt, as one of those general movements in thought and realisation which are seen spreading far over the civilized world. We scarcely realize how general a mode of thought could be in ancient as in modern times. Unless a positive factious opposition arose between schools, the phrases and mental processes were soon unified over the civilized world. In recent centuries the phases of Euphuism, of Divine Right of Kings, of the Social



Contract, and of Evolution, have each dyed a century of thought and writing with their own colouring and catch-words. It is this principle which we may use in helping us to disentangle and date the successive phases of ideas which spread over the centuries before the Roman Empire. The mass of Hermetic and Gnostic literature is now far more accessible since the collecting, translating, and editing which we owe to Mr. Mead; and the material has now passed from the realm of the philologist to that of the historian. The arguments for the dating of the Hermetic works will be dealt with in a following paper, to the Egyptian section, for discussion. Here their position will be adopted with the bare mention of the facts.

The earliest Hermetic document, the *Kore Kosmou*, is dated probably to 510 B.C., and certainly within a century after that, by an allusion to the Persian rule. It is by far the most pagan, most material and graphic, of all this class of writings. The ideas which it thus dates, as being current at the time, are: Creation by the Word, the gods acting under the command of a supreme God, the function of created souls in the aether to keep nature circulating, the body a prison of the soul, the heavenly types of animals preceding the earthly creation, and the mission of Osiris and Isis to the earth. And the metempsychosis is especially that of the good and noble, and hence of the Indian rather than the Egyptian type. In the continuation of this document, the sermon of Isis to Horus, metempsychosis is assumed between human and animal bodies, the soul is individual, and at death it returns to its proper position in the sixty regions between the earth and moon. Thence it seems to have been conducted to earth again for a reincarnation.

The next dateable document is the *Definitions of Asclepius*, which is passionately Egyptian and anti-Greek, and is addressed to an Egyptian king who must be as early as 350 B.C. In this document God is the universal Maker, so all are parts of God, and God is All. At the same time He is identified with the Sun, owing to Ra worship. Around him, but beneath the stars, are the daimons who work the will of the gods by storm, earthquake, famine, and war. But man's fated acts are not punished, only his acts of impiety. The soul's rational part, or *logos*, is above the lordship of the daimons; and if a ray of God shines through the sun into it, the daimons cannot act upon it. All other men are led and driven by the daimons. Here a specific conversion is formulated.

The next document is the celebrated *Perfect Sermon*, translated by Apuleius, the well-known passage of which about the destruction of Egyptian worship can only apply to 340 A.C. In this God is stated

to be All in One, and One in All. Cosmos, Soul, and God are each separate entities. Daimons may be united to gods or to men. Men may be joined to gods, to daimons, or to animals. Animals have souls and bodies, and are filled with spirit. In man sense is added, and a fifth and divine element from the aether. The Maker of all from Himself made the Second God, the Visible, and Perceptible, whom He loved as His Son. Man was made to contemplate this Son, and is in part deathless, in part subject to death while in the body. Evil is inherent in the world, and daimons drive men to it, but God has given sense to enable them to avoid it. The present world will be destroyed by flood, fire, or pestilence, and a pure one constituted. On leaving the body the soul is weighed by its highest guardian angel. If pious, it is allowed to rest, if evil, it is driven to vortices of air, fire, and water, ever racked with pain. The daimons were evoked by man and attached to the statues. Fate and Necessity begin and end things; Order arranges their course. Ascetic communities were beginning at the back of the Fayum district, but no details of them are given.

Almost as early as this must be *About the Common Mind*, for that refers to Egypt, Persia, and Greece as being the region of intelligent man; and therefore before 332 B.C. In that is the rule of Fate; Agathodaimon, the First-born God; Life owing to Energy, Power, and Aeon; and Logos often used of human reason, the strongest phrase being 'Unto this Logos pay thy adoration and thy worship'. In the treatise on the Cup, or rather Font, the Logos doctrine begins to develop thus: 'With Logos, not with hands, did the Demiourgos make the universal Cosmos.' Conversion is the prominent motive of the treatise. The great Crater or Font full of Mind had been sent from God for men; 'Baptize thyself with this Font's baptism, thou that hast faith that thou canst ascend to Him who hath sent down the Font, . . . as many as understood the tidings, and immersed themselves in Mind, became partakers in the Gnosis.' With this we must connect the baptism of the ascetics described about 10 A.D., where the initiate was 'made a partaker of the waters of purification'.

In the *Secret Sermon* the Logos doctrine develops further. 'Thy Logos sings through me Thy praises.' 'Send thou oblation . . . acceptable to God . . . but add, my son, "through the Logos".' The Logos is here a divine principle in-dwelling. The doctrine of Conversion passes the type of the heavenly Ray, or of baptism in the Font of Mind, and becomes 'the tradition of Rebirth'. 'Whenever I see within myself the sincere vision brought to birth out of God's mercy, I have passed through myself into a body that can never die,



And now I am not what I was before, but I am born in Mind' (after the Font of Mind). 'Who is the author of the birth? The Son of God, the One Man, by God's will.' 'The natural body which our sense perceives is far removed from this essential birth. The first must be dissolved, the last never can be. The first must die, the last death cannot touch. Dost thou not know thou hast been born a God, Son of the One.' The Sermon also brings in 'Thy Mind that plays the Shepherd to Thy Reason or Logos'. Thus the Logos is an inferior or natural principle which has to be controlled by the Mind received by baptism in the Font of Mind.

This image of the shepherd is then further developed in the best-known Hermetic work, the *Shepherd of Men* or *Poimandres*. In the Creation 'a Holy Logos descended on that Nature, and upward to the Light from the Moist, Nature leaped forth pure fire'. 'The Logos that appeared from Mind is Son of God.' 'From the downward elements Nature brought forth lives reasonless; for He did not extend the Logos to them.' 'Holy art thou who didst by Logos make to consist the things that are.' All these statements in no way go beyond, and scarcely reach, the Philonic doctrine of the Logos. And so far there is no trace of Wisdom appearing, which later takes the place which so far is attributed to the Logos.

The earliest Wisdom work that can be dated is Sirach, otherwise Ecclesiasticus, which, it is agreed, was written between 190 and 170 B.C. In that Wisdom is fully personified: 'I came out of the mouth of the most High . . . I compassed the circuit of heaven and walked in the bottom of the deep . . . and in every people and nation I got a possession.' In Ecclesiastes Wisdom is only a quality, and is not personified; and the earliest date allowed for that is the Persian age, or more probably after 300 B.C. The rise of the personification of Wisdom must, then, be about 200 B.C., or rather earlier; and the documents where Logos holds the place of wisdom, and yet is less developed than in Philon, would be before 200 B.C.

When we come to Philon, writing about 40 A.D., a new atmosphere is reached. Allegorizing is in full force, as being the ratio for past records. And that this is not peculiar to him or to Judaism is seen in Plutarch, who doubtless learned his Egyptian material when studying in 66 A.D. under his Egyptian tutor Ammonius. Philon's position is that Deity fills the void of space by his boundless fullness, He is the light, of which each ray is a divine portion (as in the earliest Conversion simile): that a spiritual world is the pattern of the visible world: that the discrepancy of natures between a perfect Deity and a changing world, made it needful to have an intermediary.

'It was not possible that anything subject to death should be imaged after the supremest God . . . but rather after the second God, who is His Logos.' 'God as Shepherd and King leads with law and justice the nature of the heavens . . . deputing His own Logos, His First-born Son, to take charge of the sacred flock. . . His eldest Son whom elsewhere he hath called His First-born, and who . . . contemplating His archetypal patterns fashions the species.' And the Logos is inherent in man, even when he is not worthy to be called a Son of God.

Now we are in a position to review the development of ideas, having the fixed points of documents in 510 to 410 B.C., about 350, 300, 190-170 B.C., and 40 A.D. And as we can trace a continuous development from one to another of these, we are justified in ranging other undated documents in place according to the development of doctrine and ideas that we find in them. Here we only note the most important lines of thought, with the latest date to which their introduction can be placed. (See table on next page.)

It is of course possible that the Wisdom literature should be entirely taken out of the series; but that would make little difference in the spacing of the documents between the fixed points of the Persian age and Philon. With the development of ideas that is already assumed by Philon, it is useless to try to bring any of these other documents much later in order to allow of their borrowing from Christian ideas. The development of doctrines cannot be changed by such an assumption, and therefore it is better to follow the course of unfolding and growth that we can see here. Moreover, the entire absence in the Hermetic works of the allegorizing spirit, which was fully developed by 40 A.D. and continued for at least four centuries as a prevailing system, also stamps them as belonging to an earlier phase.

Here we must stop; the next step is the introduction of Christian ideals and principles which were absent hitherto, and which quickly fitted into the forms of thought already familiar to the world. The new wine was put into the old skins, in spite of the warning against fasting and Sabbatism, the main ascetic and ceremonial principles; the results were disastrous to both the wine and the skins within three centuries.

Our review of the various aspects of Religion in Egypt has been but a glance; those who know the subject already will be the first to forgive the imperfection of these remarks, as they will realize how entirely fragmentary such a view must be, and they must pardon the repetition of familiar facts in the endeavour to give a general conception of the position to those whose work has lain in other lines.



R. C. 410	God Creator					Metempsychosis, soul embodied for rebellion		
350	God = Sun, In All			Logos of soul above daimons	Divine Ray protects from daimons			
340	God One in All All in One	All Maker has a Son, 2nd God				Bad souls driven out to vortices.	Ascetics by Fayum	Fate
330		Agathodaimon God's First-born		Logos is Reason to be adored				Fate
Pont		Logos makes all things			Baptized in Font of Mind			Gnosis
Secret Sermon		Logos divine indwelling in Man, Son of God, the one Man, who gives rebirth			Rebirth, born a God, Son of the One			Gnosis Shepherd
Poi- matres		Logos Son of God passes from Mind into Nature and makes all things						Gnosis Shepherd
170							Recluses of Serapeum	Wisdom
40 A. D.	God fills all things	Logos the First-born Son is the 2nd God, made all things, and is inherent in man					Large ascetic communities	Allegorizing

## A PROPOS DES STATUETTES DE MEUNIER

PAR JEAN CAPART

ALAN H. GARDINER a consacré, dans la *Berliner Zeitschrift*, xliii, 1906, pp. 55-9, un intéressant article à une statuette représentant le grand prêtre de Ptah, Ptahmès, occupé à moudre du grain. A ce propos il a repris le problème de la signification des *oushebtis* et cherché à montrer que ces dernières figurines ne seraient que la continuation de l'usage de déposer dans les tombeaux de l'ancien empire des statuettes de serviteurs. Par suite d'une confusion, on aurait considéré les *oushebtis* comme représentant le mort lui-même et les statuettes de meuniers nous donneraient la preuve de cette confusion poussée jusqu'à l'absurde. Pour expliquer ce fait Gardiner écrit : 'Une conception nouvelle et contraire apparaît suivant laquelle le mort lui-même est appelé à travailler dans la vie d'outre-tombe.' Je ne sais si Gardiner peut expliquer la genèse de cette nouvelle croyance qui paraît en contradiction formelle avec les croyances funéraires révélées par les tombeaux de l'ancien empire. Et cependant il importe de s'en rendre compte pour expliquer le rôle des statuettes.







Je voudrais essayer de proposer une explication de l'idée nouvelle qui a donné naissance aux *oushebtis* et montrer qu'il est peut-être possible d'expliquer les statuettes de meuniers et les *oushebtis* un peu différemment qu'on l'a fait jusqu'à présent.

Je commencerai par résumer ce que nous savons des figurines du type de meuniers :

1. Statuette du grand prêtre Ptahmès, publiée à Rome en 1842 et republiée par Gardiner. Le grand prêtre est revêtu de son costume sacerdotal, peau de panthère et boucle de cheveux tombant sur l'épaule droite. Le texte donne le chapitre vi du Livre des Morts relatif aux *oushebtis*.

2. Statuette du prince Thotmès, prêtre de Ptah, père de Ptahmès, au Musée du Louvre, représentant le défunt en grand costume sacerdotal. L'inscription porte : 'Je suis le serviteur de ce dieu auguste, son meunier.'

3-5. Trois statuettes au nom du gardien du trésor Mery-y, au musée de Leiden. L'inscription porte : 'Je suis le meunier d'Osiris, le serviteur de Nut.'

6. Statuette au musée du Caire no. 1256 (journal d'entrée 29927, achat) au nom de . Les textes sont les suivants      deux fois répétées, soit le commencement de la formule des *oushebtis* comme au no. 1.





s'étant évanoui, on en arrive à les considérer comme favorables au mort et qu'on s'imagine que celui-ci les désire.

Il me paraît assez clair que les coutumes funéraires de l'Égypte jusqu'à la fin de l'ancien empire s'inspirent principalement de l'idée d'empêcher la réunion de l'âme et du corps du défunt, de s'opposer à ce que le mort revienne parmi les vivants. Le cadavre était parfois coupé en plusieurs morceaux, la tête mise à part, ou bien on liait le corps replié sur lui-même dans une natte. La tombe, depuis la simple fosse jusqu'au gigantesque *mastaba*, est destinée avant tout à enfermer le corps, de façon telle que, si l'âme venait l'animer de nouveau, il soit dans l'impossibilité absolue de renverser les obstacles accumulés sur son chemin. Dans la tombe du type du *mastaba*, le corps, qui n'a reçu aucune préparation conservatrice, est enfermé, le plus souvent sans mobilier funéraire, dans un lourd sarcophage, sans décors, relégué dans une chambrette souterraine close elle-même par une dalle épaisse et située au fond d'un puits obstrué par des blocs de pierre agglutinés au moyen de mortier. Parfois même tout un système de couloirs et de faux puits coupés par des hermes de granit vient encore apporter des obstacles imprévus à la sortie du revenant. Quant à l'âme, au double, qui seul pouvait désirer sa réunion avec le corps, on s'ingénie à l'en détourner en répondant d'avance à tous ses désirs. On prépare une statue, copie exacte du corps et, au moment où l'on enferme le corps au tombeau, une cérémonie appelée l'ouverture de la bouche s'exécute sur la statue. Des prêtres et des parents du défunt persuadent l'âme que la statue est son corps et, obéissante à la suggestion, elle s'incorpore dans l'effigie de bois ou de pierre. La chapelle du tombeau où on loge ce nouveau corps deviendra nécessairement une funéraire maison d'éternité pourvue de toutes les commodités de l'existence et l'on peut être assuré que l'âme, y trouvant un train de vie ordinairement supérieur à celui auquel elle était accoutumée sur la terre, ne désirera qu'une chose, c'est de poursuivre cette nouvelle existence sans songer à rien réclamer des survivants entrés en possession de l'héritage. Des statuettes en bois, en pierre, peuplent la tombe, à moins que ce ne soient les scènes sculptées en bas-relief et qui décorent les murailles. Statues et reliefs créent autour de l'âme et pour l'âme seule toute une humanité factice qui, si elle est le reflet de l'autre, constitue néanmoins pour le double une réalité suffisante pour retenir l'âme en cette nouvelle demeure. La femme, les enfants, les serviteurs qui sont là représentés viendront à leur tour reposer à proximité du cadavre du maître et leurs doubles se logeront naturellement dans les statuettes ou les figures des reliefs. Ce seront leurs supports éternels, absolument de la même manière que la statue principale du mort sert à immobiliser son âme. Lorsque les idées se modifieront, on jugera parfois préférable d'emmener du tombeau



l'âme du mort en transportant sa statue, d'abord dans un autre tombeau où la chapelle seule sera habitée, puis on conduira la statue dans les temples des dieux où les doubles devenant les hôtes du dieu se nourriront à sa table.

Mais il importe de noter ici une remarque de Maspero : 'Dans les tombeaux on constate, à côté des représentations de serviteurs dont le nom est soigneusement indiqué, des séries de personnages anonymes qui accompagnent la famille et l'aident à transporter les provisions ou à s'acquitter de ses fonctions diverses : selon la doctrine de l'Égyptien, tant qu'ils n'ont point de nom, ils n'ont pas d'âme, mais ils n'en existent pas moins, et ils sont prêts à devenir des personnes réelles dès qu'on leur adjointra un double.' Or l'examen des murs des tombes montre que souvent on a gravé après coup, d'une main maladroite, des noms auprès de ces figures. 'Ce sont,' continue Maspero, 'de pauvres diables qui, désirant augmenter leur probabilité de survie, se sont enrôlés clandestinement parmi les clients du maître. En inscrivant leur nom auprès d'un des corps anonymes, ils lui ont attaché leur double et ont pris du service chez le défunt : désormais, et pourvu qu'on n'effaçât pas leur légende, ils s'acquittaient de la fonction que la figure représentait, ils en gagnaient le salaire, et ils recevaient de leur seigneur nouveau ce qui leur était nécessaire pour éviter l'anéantissement de leur être' (Maspero, *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 1904, pp. 377-84).

Ainsi donc, en résumé, dans ce système on cherche à éviter la réunion de l'âme et du corps ; le corps n'est l'objet d'aucune mesure de momification, l'âme est enfermée dans une statue représentant le défunt sous l'aspect d'un être vivant et, là où se trouve la statue, soit dans la chapelle du tombeau, soit dans le temple, il faut et il suffit de créer l'illusion d'une existence heureuse pour que l'âme ne cherche ni à modifier son état ni à rien réclamer des survivants.

Abordons maintenant l'examen de la nouvelle théorie que nous rencontrons principalement à partir du moyen empire. 'Une conception nouvelle et contraire apparaît,' dit Gardiner, 'd'après laquelle le mort lui-même est appelé à travailler dans la vie infernale.' Où le mort travaille-t-il, pourquoi le fait-il ? Il est évident à première vue que ce n'est pas dans son domaine funéraire où les serviteurs l'ont accompagné en nombre suffisant. C'est donc dans un autre monde où le mort s'est rendu avec son corps et son âme. Et ici je pense, qu'au contraire de la première théorie qui cherche à mettre entre le corps et l'âme une sorte de cloison étanche, on a cherché plutôt à réunir l'âme et le corps, quitte à les bannir tous deux de cette terre et à les envoyer dans une autre terre.

Nous sommes en présence de la première étape qui à la longue fera de tous les morts des Osiris, en identifiant chacun d'eux au prin-

cipal dieu des morts, Osiris. Le procédé est appliqué d'abord au roi seul. Dans le but probable de l'empêcher de se réincarner et de venir tourmenter son successeur, on l'enverra au pays des dieux en le faisant passer lui-même pour un dieu. Les textes des pyramides, au moment où on les transcrit pour la première fois sur les parois d'un caveau royal, ont en effet ce but. C'est ici que pour la première fois on dira d'un mort 'l'Osiris un tel'. Les dieux résident dans leur domaine funéraire localisé sur cette terre ou hors de ce monde : le roi, armé de la puissance que confère la magie, réussira à s'y introduire en usurpant la qualité et les attributs divins. Je n'ai nul besoin, je pense, de rappeler les procédés enfantins ou brutaux que l'on mettra en œuvre dans ce but et qui iront même jusqu'à l'anthropophagie.

On a remarqué depuis longtemps déjà que les procédés originellement réservés au roi passent, petit à petit, par privilège aux personnages importants avant d'être étendus à tous les morts. Cependant ici, où il s'agit en quelque sorte de se substituer par force ou par ruse à un dieu, il devient impossible *a priori* d'appliquer purement et simplement à d'autres morts le procédé employé pour le roi. Ce n'est que lorsque la signification première de l'usage s'est en grande partie perdue, que le roi peut permettre à d'autres de venir en réalité se substituer à lui-même et usurper sa place comme dieu des morts. Comment donc et en quelle qualité les morts parviendront-ils au domaine des dieux ? Un procédé magique envoie le corps chez les dieux et l'âme l'accompagne. Le défunt, qui revit en ce moment par la réunion de son âme et de son corps, s'introduira dans le domaine des dieux, absolument de la même manière que les pauvres diables de l'ancien empire s'insinuaient dans le domaine funéraire des grands personnages. Dans ce cas là, si le maître s'était étonné de rencontrer des figures étrangères, les représentations des murailles ou les statuettes avec le nom gravé et le titre lui assuraient que le nouveau venu faisait réellement partie de sa maison ; s'il ne le connaissait pas davantage c'est qu'il était confiné dans les emplois les plus inférieurs, ou encore, c'était un homme sans maître qui venait se mettre sous la protection d'un maître puissant, se contentant de la place la plus modeste dans son domaine. De même ici, celui qui veut se rendre au domaine funéraire du dieu partira, guidé pendant la route par l'un ou l'autre itinéraire fournissant les indications indispensables et que l'on déposera sur la momie ou que l'on transcrira sur le cercueil ; parvenu là-bas il s'enrôlera parmi les colons attachés au domaine. Le dieu, lorsqu'il le rencontrera, lui attribuera des terres à cultiver et le nouveau serviteur ensemencera la terre, entretiendra les canaux d'irrigation et exécutera à l'appel du dieu la corvée pêle-mêle avec tous les vassaux. De ce moment le mort deviendra un Osirien et, s'il a pris toutes ses précautions, ou plutôt si les survivants les ont prises pour lui, il ne



cessera plus d'appartenir à la maison divine. Et c'est pourquoi dans les tombeaux on rencontre d'abord une, puis plusieurs figurines du mort, sous l'aspect d'une momie couchée dans un cercueil qui est la copie du cercueil réel. La figurine de momie jouera le même rôle qu'autrefois la statue de double : l'âme s'y attachera de façon indissoluble et, de même qu'on conduisait la statue du double dans la chapelle du tombeau ou dans le temple du dieu, de même on conduira la statuette de momie dans le domaine du dieu des morts ou on se contentera de lui fournir les moyens d'y être transportée magiquement. Je rappellerai seulement les bateaux funéraires sculptés ou peints, servant au transport de la figurine de momie à Abydos, ce qui n'est peut-être après tout qu'un moyen de ne pas transporter réellement la momie à Abydos dans le domaine du dieu Osiris. Que l'on se rappelle aussi les rares stèles trouvées toutes, à ma connaissance, à Abydos, et où l'on voit une figure de momie en ronde-bosse, alors que toutes les stèles se rattachant à la première idée montraient le défunt sous l'aspect d'un vivant.

Le mort, arrivé 'à l'endroit où sont les dieux et son double avec lui,' pour employer l'expression d'un texte, doit donc se livrer aux travaux de la corvée pour laquelle on a eu soin de lui fournir les outils indispensables. Mais le sort obtenu de la sorte ne paraissant nullement enviable, les figurines de momie ne tardèrent pas à changer, et le changement dut se produire d'autant plus aisément que l'idée première qui avait présidé à leur confection s'atténuait graduellement. La statuette représentera maintenant un serviteur qui se substituera au mort lorsque le dieu l'appellera à la corvée. Puis, on multipliera le nombre des statuettes pour envoyer le défunt dans l'autre monde entouré de nombreux serviteurs.

Mais tout cela n'explique pas encore les figures de meuniers. On remarque déjà dans les tombeaux de l'ancien empire que parmi les statuettes de serviteurs une des plus fréquentes, sinon la plus fréquente, est celle de l'esclave, homme ou femme occupé à moudre le grain nécessaire à la préparation des pains. Dans le cimetière de Rifeh exploré pendant l'hiver 1906-7 par Flinders Petrie, on a découvert une série nombreuse de petites maisons funéraires en terre cuite, datant de l'époque du moyen empire. Dans quelques-unes on peut voir le mort lui-même représenté par une figurine. Tout à fait exceptionnellement, apparaît un seul serviteur, modestement placé sous l'escalier conduisant à la terrasse supérieure de la maison, et qui est occupé à moudre du grain.

On voit donc que le meunier joue un rôle important et que sa présence était de première nécessité. Il vit dans la maison même, à côté du mort, il est vraisemblablement exempté des travaux des champs et de la corvée. Ce qui est vrai des défunts ordinaires peut

bien l'avoir été du dieu des morts et le meunier du dieu devait également bénéficier des privilèges que son emploi lui conférait. De là le truc magique qui consiste à envoyer le mort dans la maison du dieu, non plus en homme de peine soumis à la corvée mais bien en qualité de meunier. La petite statuette le montrera dans l'exercice de ses fonctions et le texte affirmera clairement que c'est lui qui moud le grain pour la préparation des pains d'Osiris dans l'autre monde. Par un raffinement qui est bien dans les habitudes égyptiennes, le meunier ajoutera qu'il n'est pas un nouveau venu, qu'il est au contraire un vieux serviteur de la maison, serviteur de la déesse Nut, la mère d'Osiris. Une fois même, et le fait est précieux à noter, l'inscription marque que la figurine est le 'corps d'éternité' du défunt.

En pleine histoire égyptienne des dieux sont morts et on a dû les ensevelir : ce sont les Apis. Dans la tombe inviolée de deux Apis de Ramsès II, Mariette a découvert dans des niches autour du sarcophage 247 figurines funéraires. Lorsqu'on lit les noms gravés sur chacune d'entre elles on s'aperçoit que c'est toute la haute société memphite de l'époque, les grands dignitaires qui, tous vivants au moment de la sépulture de l'Apis, ont tenu à accompagner par leur effigie le dieu dans son domaine funéraire, assurés de la sorte qu'à leur mort leur double ira rejoindre le corps éternel.

Il me semble que dans l'hypothèse que je viens d'esquisser on comprend comment il se fait que d'abord on ne s'inquiète que très modérément de la conservation d'un corps qui, on l'espère, ne devra plus servir de support à l'âme. Quand, au contraire, on cherche à envoyer dans le monde des dieux le corps et l'âme qui s'y réuniront, il importe de conserver le corps le mieux possible et les procédés de momification seront développés à la perfection.

Il me semble qu'en même temps on entrevoit comment des idées de justification morale ont pu se développer dans le mythe osirien. D'abord, on entre dans le monde des dieux par ruse, par magie et souvent à l'insu du dieu. Bientôt, on croit que le dieu impose ses conditions et il faut, lorsqu'on arrive aux confins de son royaume, que l'on justifie de son identité, que l'on subisse un examen permettant de n'admettre les nouveaux venus qu'en toute sûreté. Mais ici encore, les livres de géographie infernale, principalement le Livre des Morts, permettront au défunt de ne pas être pris au dépourvu et, de nouveau, le dieu sera vaincu dans la lutte et contraint d'admettre tous ceux qui auront eu soin de se munir des renseignements utiles. Ils arriveront armés de formules d'une puissance telle que le dieu contraint ne pourra s'y soustraire.

J'ose espérer que ces vues, que je crois en partie nouvelles, ne paraîtront pas trop hardies. Il est malheureusement indispensable de chercher à mettre de la précision dans l'explication de coutumes



où les Égyptiens ne se sont jamais eux-mêmes souciés d'en apporter. La seule chose qui soit claire pour nous c'est que partout nous nous trouvons en présence d'idées multiples, le plus souvent inconciliables les unes avec les autres. Il est fatal qu'en cherchant à en expliquer la genèse nous soyons obligés à faire des constructions théoriques qui certainement n'ont jamais existé telles quelles dans l'esprit d'aucun Égyptien.

## 3

## NOTES ON EGYPTIAN MAGIC

By ALAN H. GARDINER. (ABSTRACT)

MAGIC is not a discoverable entity, but a word to be defined; its definition is a mere matter of agreement among scholars. However desirable it may be that the word should be used in the same terminological meaning in all branches of the Science of Religions, this is not at present possible. Egyptology needs the term Magic for the classification of its facts, and has within fixed limits the right to frame its own definition. The object of this paper is to formulate theoretically the sense of Magic as understood by Egyptologists.

Magic belongs to the active side of men's relations to the supernatural. These active relations may best be classified under the three headings: (1) the Cult of the Gods; (2) Observances connected with the Dead; (3) Magic. The principle of division is given by the question *cui bono?* (1) The aim of the Cult of the Gods was to benefit the Gods themselves in various ways, e.g. by giving them a house (the temple), clothes, food, music, dancing, and hymns. Of course the worshipper hoped to reap some advantages from his pious tending of the Gods, but this motive was in Egypt, where the cult had crystallized into custom, often absent: it should therefore be considered as of secondary importance. (2) Similarly in the observances connected with the Dead, the primary beneficiaries were the Dead themselves, though here more complex motives played a part. (3) Magic, on the other hand, was avowedly self-seeking; whatever the employments to which it was put, it always sought to secure certain advantages to living persons.

Not all rites, however, which served primarily to benefit the living are magical. Ordinary parlance forbids us to describe thus such practices as Prayer, Oracles, and Private Sacrifices. The reason is that in these practices there is involved the intervention of a divine will between the performance of the rite and its expected effect. All magical rites, on the contrary, were supposed to be necessarily and

immediately efficacious. The criterion of immediate efficacy would, however, be insufficient alone to define Egyptian Magic: for many of the symbolical actions in the ceremonies of the temples and the tombs were doubtless felt to be cogent in their effects, yet cannot be called magical without extending the meaning of the term Magic in such a way as to make it useless as a classificatory heading.

To define Magic as those actions which are (a) performed on behalf of the living, and (b) dependent on no other will but that of the agent, is not enough: for this definition would not exclude the ordinary *techniques* of daily life, e. g. trades, crafts, quest of food, &c. As yet the common characteristic that links together Magic and Religion as sub-species of a particular species of human actions has been neglected: this characteristic is the necessary implication of Faith. Using the epithet religious in its narrower sense to describe all superstitious rites that are not magical (Cult of the Gods, Funerary Observances, Prayer, Oracles, &c.), it is plain that all religious rites imply Faith; they involve a belief in the existence of beings of whom men know nothing by direct experience. Not so in the case of all actions by which men seek their own advantage. Trades and crafts, for example, make no appeal to the credulity of those who are engaged in them. It is true that men may believe in the success of their efforts, but such a belief forms no integral part of them, and is in fact usually absent. In Magic, on the other hand, an element of Faith is a necessity: here men are always more or less conscious of the exceptional and miraculous character of their action. It is this consciousness that makes twin-sisters, so to speak, of Magic and Religion; and it is this consciousness again which marks the boundary-line between magical practices and the ordinary routine of human labour.

Our final definition of Egyptian Magic must therefore run thus: *Magical actions are those which men perform on their own behalf or on behalf of other living persons; and which involve, as a necessary and inseparable element, a certain quantum of belief, though the attainment of their object is not thought to depend on any other will than that of the agent.*

The Egyptian language has no word for Religion; religious actions lie so far apart from all others that only in a reflective age would the necessity of finding a general name for them be felt. Magic, on the contrary, stands in a deep contrast with the simpler ways by which men seek their own advantages, but provokes comparison with these by the fact that it pursues the same object. A name had therefore to be found for it: in Egyptian the word for Magic is *hike* (Coptic *εμ*); it acquired a slightly wider sense than Magic in the terminological meaning here given to it.

The distinction between Magic and the ordinary technical practices



of daily life may be well observed in Egyptian medical papyri. There a difference is made between 'remedies' (*pḥrt*), which are lists of drugs with directions for use, and 'incantations' (*ḥnt*), of which the main feature is a mystical formula to be pronounced. 'Remedies' were used for the simpler maladies, 'incantations' reserved for those that were more precarious: the reason being, that in the latter cases the intervention of Faith is an absolute necessity; something marvellous was expected of the physician, who therefore employed magical means. 'Remedies' were utilized in a different spirit: here the doctor was regarded merely as a clever practitioner. Thus our documents exhibit Medicine in the process of liberating itself from Magic and becoming a science.

Even in 'remedies', however, Magic is latent: this is clear from the strange nature of many ingredients that are named, e.g. the milk of a woman who has borne a male child. It can be shown that magical properties were associated with many simpler food-stuffs, such as honey and onions; but in many cases the well-tested wholesomeness of these was at least a contributory cause of their use. In 'remedies' the magical element has receded into the background. In many non-medical magical rites the gradual intrusion of scientific ideas can also be traced. Thus the borders of Magic and Science overlap.

Among the purposes to which Magic was put in Ancient Egypt may be mentioned: the avoidance of death; the protection of mothers and their children; 'laying spells on him whom one fears'; assistance to women in travail; cures for pains in the head, snake-bites and scorpion-stings; ridding houses of snakes; protection against the dangers of the Nile; preserving men from hunger and thirst, the risks of the law-courts, the attacks of evil persons, and plague. 'Black' Magic is not exemplified in our magical documents, but is mentioned elsewhere. An extreme example of Magic is the purposeless, ostentatious wonder-working related in the *Westcar Papyrus*. The above enumeration shows that Magic was resorted to only in cases where normal human effort would have been of no avail; in fact, where miracles were required, and where consequently a great appeal was made to Faith.

In Egypt Magic and Religion stood on the same footing: they were two products of one and the same *Weltanschauung*, not disparate either in their methods or in their psychological basis. Nor were they differently estimated from the ethical point of view: Magic was deemed permissible, so long as it was turned to no evil purpose. It follows that the classification of Egyptian superstitious practices as (a) religious, (b) magical, must be a purely external mode of classification: the distinction between Religion and Magic in Egypt has not, and cannot be made to have, any deeper significance.

## REMARKS ON SOME EARLY EGYPTIAN CULTS

By PERCY E. NEWBERRY. (ABSTRACT)

MOST of the ensigns of the nomes of Egypt represent the fetishes, totems, or cult-objects of the early inhabitants of the districts of which, in historic times, they are the standards. Thus we have the Falcon of Hieraconpolis, the bolt-like object of Ekhnim, the Crossed Arrows or the Crossed Arrows and Shield of Saïs, the Harpoon of the North-West Delta. On the analogy of these, the Oryx was the totem-animal of the early people of the Minieh district, the Hare of those of the region of Hermopolis in Middle Egypt, the Tree of the people of Heracléopolis and Siut, and the Knife of the inhabitants around Aphroditopolis. Thus we see that the Ibis on this theory was not the primitive divinity of Hermopolis in Middle Egypt, but of the people of the North-East Delta, of which district the Ibis was in historic times the ensign. The Set-cult also would thus be located in predynastic times to the region about Shashotep to the south of Siut.

Several of these cult-objects go back to prehistoric times: we find them figured at the masthead of boats painted on the decorated pottery of the prehistoric period. If we apply what may be called 'the proof of continuity' to these ensigns we gain a remarkable insight into the prehistoric political divisions of the Delta and Nile Valley. That we are right in applying this 'proof of continuity' to the nome ensigns is proved by our finding many vases with representations of two or three standards on the same vase, and these standards are nearly always of *contiguous* states. Thus the Harpoon and Mountain occur together, or the Harpoon, Mountain, and Crossed Arrows; or the Crossed Arrows and Tree-branch, or the Tree-branch and bolt-like object, and so on. The three commonest ensigns appearing on the decorated pottery of prehistoric times are the Harpoon, the Mountain, and Crossed Arrows. These it will be noticed are located to the North and West Delta. The Harpoon nome comprised the region around Mareotis, its capital being Senti-nefer. The Mountain was the deity of Xoïs, the standard of the Xoite nome in historic times being the Mountain and Bull, which suggests the fusion, or rather association, of two different cults. The Crossed Arrows and Shield was the standard of the nome of Saïs: in early times the form of the shield in this ensign is a figure of 8, after the Twelfth Dynasty it is generally ovoid, whereas the Shield of the Dynastic Egyptians was rounded at the top and square below. The significance of this figure-of-8 shield has been pointed out in the *Proceedings of the S. B. A.* 1906 (Feb.), p. 68.



Now it is important to note that nearly all the prehistoric ensigns represent inanimate objects, the two animate ones—the falcon and the elephant—being on the extreme south. From this the inference may be drawn that the fetish worshippers, as distinct from the animal or totem worshippers, belong to an earlier stratum, and perhaps different element of the population of the Nile Valley. This inference is supported by several facts in the later history of the Nile Valley and Delta. An important monument in this connexion is the Slate Palette of Nar Mer, which records the conquest of the Harpoon Chieftain of the North by the Horus Chieftain of the South. The racial type of these Harpoon people is very different from that of their conquerors, whose characteristic features are exemplified in the portrait of Nar Mer and his attendants. Herodotus (ii. 18), speaking of the inhabitants of that part of Egypt bordering on Libya (i.e. to the west of the Canopic branch of the Nile), says that they deemed themselves Libyans and not Egyptians, and did not even speak the same language. In late Ptolemaic times this North-Western corner of the Delta formed the nome of Metelis, so-called because it was inhabited mainly by immigrants. The fact seems to be that, rather than representing immigrants, this 'foreign' population preserved the least-mixed surviving elements of a predynastic people which had, before the coming of the Dynastic Egyptians, been spread throughout the Delta and Nile Valley from Aswan to the sea.

Adjoining the Harpoon nome on the East was the Xoite nome, the standard or ensign of which was the cult-object of the Mountain and the totem-animal the Bull. The name of the mountain god is recorded in the Pyramid texts as AHW: the seat of his cult was Khasu (the Xoïs of the Greek geographers). He is described in Middle Kingdom texts as 'Lord of the West': in Ptolemaic times he was 'Ruler of the Temchu (Libyans)', and 'Chieftain of the Mountain'. Little is known as to the rôle he played among the Egyptian gods. They seem to have looked upon him as a sort of 'foreign deity', an idea which his name indeed suggests; nevertheless he played an important part in the ceremonial of the coronation of the king and also at the Sed festival. A 'Royal Son' of the period of Khufu was his High Priest. In the Fifth Dynasty occurs a title, 'khet-priest of the Double Axe,' which seems to have had some connexion with the cult of AHW. Mr. Arthur Evans has pointed out that there existed in Minoan Crete and the Aegean a god of the Double Axe, with whom was associated a cult-object which he has called the 'Horus of Consecration'. This object he describes as 'a kind of impost or base terminating at the two ends in two hornlike excrescences'. This Minoan cult-object resembles in every particular the form of the god AHW. In Crete, as in the Egyptian Delta, he is also associated with the Bull divinity.

The combination of two cults, the Bull and the Mountain, found in

the historic ensign of the Xoite nome suggests our separating the cult-objects of the Packet, Fish-skin, and Calf, from the other Bull nomes of the Delta. The geographical distribution of these Bull nomes is important: they are placed around the nome which had for its ensign 'the Sovereign'. Evidently here in the Delta was a Pre-Menite state, of which the 'Bull Chieftain' was the sovereign. To this Bull civilization the Egyptians perhaps owed the development of the hieroglyphic system of writing, as indicated by the signs used for North, South, East and West, which give a central spot somewhere about Busiris, the capital of the sovereign nome.

## 5

## THE TREATMENT OF THE DEAD IN EGYPT

By WALDEMAR SCHMIDT. (ABSTRACT)

It is not always very easy to penetrate into the religious ideas and the religious feelings of little-known, wild, or half-wild peoples of our own age; and, therefore, it must be much more difficult to understand and to penetrate into those of peoples which no longer exist, and which have disappeared from the world in the nearer or more distant past.

For the religion of the peoples of the old Eastern World—the ancient peoples in Western Asia and in Egypt—we must in our investigations consult first the Greek and Roman writers, our ordinary source of information about the ancient world, to see what we can learn from them on the subject. But we must always try to check their statements from other sources. For confirmation and, if possible, for better information, we must go to the numerous inscriptions of antiquity, which have been discovered in different parts of the East in recent years and subsequently deciphered; for it is always possible that the ancient Greek and Roman authors have made a confusion of one kind or another. Let us take an instance. We find in ancient times, east of Egypt in the desert, a people or tribe often spoken of by classical writers and in old inscriptions, the Nabathaeans, who are related to have had a god with the name of *Dusares*, a divinity resembling, to some extent, the Osiris of Egypt and the Dionysos of Greece. This is corroborated by the inscriptions found in Northern Arabia, at Petra and other places, which prove that a god of this name was worshipped in antiquity in those parts of the world, and that he was the principal divinity of Petra. Inscriptions are, in fact, our best sources, if only the information which they give us were more abundant.



In Egypt we have thousands of inscriptions, most of them connected with religion and religious matters. They teach us much about the official religion in the principal towns of Egypt; they give us the names of the divinities adored in those places; they acquaint us with the sacred animals attached to the divinities, and help to elucidate the worship and ceremonies in the temples and holy places. But it is always about the principal towns that we are informed; about the smaller towns and the country we learn little, and we must confess to knowing still less about the religious ideas and feelings of the common people.

We must go, therefore, to other sources, of which we fortunately have some at command. In the first rank must be mentioned what are commonly known as the *Magical Texts*; and secondly the facts connected with the burial of the dead, which we learn from the study of tombs and the objects placed in them at the time of burial.

This part of Egyptian archaeology was for long very much neglected. The first explorers of Egypt, when excavating tombs, took interest only in precious and remarkable objects, and paid no heed to the small and broken objects which occur there so commonly, nor to the disposition of them on the dead body and in the tomb. But from the days of Champollion there was a change for the better. Attention was now paid to the construction and ornamentation of tombs, and several inscriptions and pictures were copied by visitors and students; though the contents of the tombs still passed unnoticed. But we must not be too much surprised at this neglect, since in the greater part of Europe it was for many years no better. Only in Scandinavia, in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, for nearly a century, has more care been taken in the exploration of tombs, by collecting and preserving all objects found, and noting precisely their disposition in relation to the human remains. After Scandinavia we must mention England as a country in which old tombs were sometimes excavated with great care, notably by Sir Richard Hoare, the eminent explorer of the tombs of the Bronze Age in Southern England.

For the immense progress that has been made in the excavation of tombs in Egypt we are indebted largely to our President, Professor Flinders Petrie. He has shown how to work, and he has worked himself more than any other, excavating tombs, rich and poor alike, and describing their contents with the most exhaustive precision. He was the first also to discover a necropolis dating back to prehistoric Egypt.

In endeavouring to interpret the religious ideas underlying the treatment of the dead in Egypt we cannot be too cautious; but for some questions it is possible to find solutions.

Firstly, we may take it for granted that it was a common belief in

Egypt, even in prehistoric times, that life did not end with the death of the individual—a belief which is also found among many more or less primitive tribes of the present day. In consequence of this common belief, every old Egyptian must have had the earnest wish to obtain after death as good an existence as possible. Whilst still living on earth, he must always have been thinking of the future and making his preparations; and, after his death, it was the duty of the relatives who survived him to help him to get in his future state as good a condition of life as he could wish. If they failed to do so, there was a fear that he would feel dissatisfied in the other world, and would return after death to cause trouble.

Here we touch a question about which M. Capart yesterday gave us a very interesting explanation. I agree with him that the old Egyptians from a very early date took great care to protect the living against attacks from the dead who were not satisfied with their new life after death, and who were supposed to believe that their relatives had failed in the duty owed to them.

In prehistoric graves the skeletons are sometimes found imperfect, the body having apparently been cut to pieces soon after death. It is not easy to explain this fact, and several theories, such as anthropophagy, have been put forward. M. Capart is most likely right when he thinks that the body was dismembered to prevent the dead man from coming back to make trouble on earth amongst the living.

But in a later time this old custom seems to have been explained in Egypt in another way. When the Myth of Osiris had been formed, and it was generally admitted by the people that the body of Osiris had been cut to pieces, not by friends but by enemies, the Egyptians no longer cut the dead body to pieces, but took care to preserve it entire for a coming resurrection, if we can use that word. After that time the Egyptians probably tried other means to prevent the dead man from coming back to trouble the living.

In Egyptian tombs of the prehistoric period the dead body lies on its side in a contracted position. This fact has been explained in different ways. It has been supposed to be an allusion to the idea of a future regeneration, a new birth; but probably it was chosen only as expressing rest, like the contracted squatting position in which to this day people rest in the East.

In the tombs we often find vessels and pots which certainly were once filled with food or provision for the dead man in his future life. In the prehistoric and predynastic tombs the deceased has very often with him a palette with paint, so that he might paint himself, as he did in his earthly life. The presence of these palettes seems to me to show clearly that the Egyptians expected the future life to be very like the present one.



It is well known that in Egypt in early days the bodies of the deceased were dried in naphtha or other materials, and that later on the bodies were wrapped in linen with great care. In the Roman period the old burial customs were partly modified in this respect. Often the dead were not wrapped in linen bands as before, but buried in their best clothes. Possibly we have here an influence from Greece or Syria, two countries which in the time of the emperors had great influence upon the inhabitants of Egypt, especially in matters of dress.

For the study of Egyptian burial customs it is hardly possible to overrate the care necessary in the excavation of tombs. It is a matter for congratulation that we have now exact descriptions of several important tombs, with publication of all the inscriptions *in extenso* and of all the figures and scenes on the walls. We have also now excellent descriptions of the contents of many tombs from every period of ancient Egyptian history.

But we are only in the beginning of our investigations. Much is still wanted. Let us hope that the future will bring many new discoveries, such as may help us to understand the customs of the old Egyptians respecting the burial of the dead, and to penetrate more and more into the religious ideas of that ancient and very interesting people.

## 6

SUR UN TEXTE RELATIF AU CULTE DU  
ROI EN ÉGYPTÉ

PAR A. MORET. (RÉSUMÉ)


Le culte du roi est une des manifestations intéressantes du sentiment religieux en Égypte. On sait que les Pharaons étaient adorés par leurs sujets à divers titres. 1° Le roi est le fils et l'héritier des dieux ; il est Horus ; il est Râ incarné, l'image vivante des dieux. 2° Au moment du couronnement, le roi reçoit un culte analogue à celui que l'on rend aux dieux ; lors des fêtes *Sed*, ce culte est renouvelé dans un édifice spécialement construit pour le culte royal. 3° Le roi étant le prêtre par excellence, reçoit, afin d'être pur, avant de célébrer l'office divin, l'adoration dans une partie du temple qui s'appelle *Pa Douait*, 'la maison d'adoration.' 4° Le roi possède des temples funéraires où son double est adoré dès son vivant et le sera après sa mort. 5° Dans les pays

étrangers, Nubie, Syrie, le roi est représenté par des statues, images vivantes de lui-même, qui sont l'objet d'un culte. En résumé, les sujets de Pharaon adorent leur maître vivant en chair et en os dans les temples de l'Égypte, et en effigie dans les temples étrangers.

Ce culte avait un caractère officiel ; il était célébré dans les temples, par des prêtres de carrière. Mais on peut se demander jusqu'à quel point l'initiative des particuliers y trouvait sa part. Les Égyptiens du peuple adorent-ils individuellement leur souverain ? Apportent-ils à ce culte l'enthousiasme pieux, la naïve confiance qui sont caractéristiques des sentiments populaires ? Les textes trouvés dans les temples ne nous en disent rien ; par bonheur, un grand nombre de stèles, à partir de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, nous sont parvenues comme témoignages du culte privé rendu au Pharaon. Je me propose d'étudier brièvement un de ces petits monuments qui, si je ne me trompe, est encore inédit : c'est la stèle 34,037 du musée du Caire que je ne trouve point citée dans la classique *Histoire* du professeur Flinders Petrie.



Stèle 34037 du Musée du Caire.

La stèle est de petite taille. Dans le centre sont représentés assis devant la table d'offrande chargée deux couples royaux se tenant enlacés : 1<sup>o</sup> A gauche le roi Ahmès I<sup>er</sup>, 'dieu bienfaisant,' et sa femme, la reine Nefritari ; 2<sup>o</sup> A droite le roi Aménophis I<sup>er</sup>, 'dieu bienfaisant,' et sa mère, la même reine Nefritari. Une épithète de la reine  explique qu'elle est vivante. La stèle date du début du règne d'Aménophis I<sup>er</sup> (XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie) ; on peut supposer que le roi Ahmès est mort ;



il se trouve ici associé au culte que reçoivent sa femme et son fils. Au bas de la stèle deux personnages, genou en terre, lèvent les mains pour adorer les quatre figures royales. Celui de droite s'appelle Houi ; il est un 'servant d'Amon' ; une courte légende explique qu'il 'offre toutes les bonnes offrandes pures, pains, vins, bœufs, oies'. L'orant de gauche est un 'prêtre servant Smentaoui' ; la légende symétrique indique qu'il adore les rois Ahmès, Aménophis et la reine Nefritari.

En plus de ces courtes formules d'adoration la stèle nous a conservé deux prières plus longues qui font l'intérêt de ce monument.

Le servant Houi prie spécialement le roi Ahmès : 'Adoration au dieu bienfaisant Nebpehtouri ; prosternement devant Ahmès (*bis*), le vivifiant, celui qu'on met dans son cœur,... qui élève celui qui est aimé de lui...' Suivent des formules obscures qui demanderaient une étude détaillée et sans grand intérêt pour le but que je me propose ici.


Le servant Smentaoui prononce des paroles qui nous importent davantage : 'Adoration au dieu bienfaisant Zeserkari, prosternement devant le maître des deux terres. (Pour qu'il donne)<sup>1</sup> les souffles de vie que dispense Amon, une belle femme, des enfants obéissants, des biens nombreux, un beau tombeau après la vieillesse, un ensevelissement à l'occident de Thèbes, prendre possession de (ta) maison chaque jour, sans qu'il y ait d'embûche ; qu'il donne la vie, la santé et la force, les faveurs et les grâces au double de... Smentaoui.'


Il résulte de cette stèle et des monuments de ce type les renseignements suivants : 1<sup>o</sup> Le roi n'est point adoré seulement dans les temples par les prêtres de profession ; de simples particuliers lui dédient des monuments de dimensions modestes, peu coûteux, inspirés par la dévotion individuelle. 2<sup>o</sup> Le culte n'est pas compliqué ; il consiste à présenter quelques offrandes à l'image du roi ou de son double. 3<sup>o</sup> Le roi n'est pas adoré spécialement comme fils des dieux, comme prêtre, comme Pharaon ; on s'adresse à lui pour obtenir des grâces pendant cette vie et après la mort ; on le sollicite d'agir en tant que 'dieu bienfaisant', non dans l'intérêt commun de l'État, mais pour des grâces individuelles. Dans les temples, le culte confère au roi la divinité, le fait vivre parmi ses frères les dieux ; en échange le Pharaon assure la vie spirituelle des dieux et l'existence matérielle des prêtres. Le culte populaire ramène le Pharaon sur terre, pour qu'il intervienne dans les intérêts particuliers dont il prend charge. Dans les temples le culte revêt un caractère général et national, tout en servant les intérêts du sacerdoce ; pratiqué par les particuliers, il devient directement utilitaire. En échange de ses offrandes, le servant Smentaoui

<sup>1</sup> La formule oubliée ici est restituée d'après des stèles similaires du musée du Caire.

espère obtenir 'une belle femme, des enfants obéissants, la richesse et la bonne sépulture après une vie bien remplie'. En somme, il demande au roi la *chance* dans la vie; il ne s'adresserait pas autrement à un sorcier qui lui dirait la bonne aventure et pourrait lui promettre un talisman contre le mauvais sort.

On peut à ce sujet se demander, comme on l'a fait pour le culte adressé aux dieux, si des monuments de ce genre indiquent une sorte de dégénérescence du sentiment religieux, qui s'affaiblirait par une longue pratique au cours des siècles, au point de transformer l'adoration rendue aux dieux en une sorte de marché entre l'adorateur et le dieu adoré.

Je suppose au contraire que le culte naif, le recours intéressé au roi bienfaisant, tel qu'il se révèle sur cette stèle de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, est un écho fidèle d'une tradition aussi ancienne que le culte du roi en Égypte. Le professeur Frazer, dans ses belles *Lectures sur la royauté primitive*, a démontré que les premiers rois sont avant tout des sorciers à qui l'on prête le pouvoir de dispenser les bons et les mauvais sorts, et qui sont responsables non point seulement de la prospérité publique, mais du bien-être de chacun. Des textes officiels nous affirment que le Pharaon acceptait volontiers ce rôle, qu'il ne répudiait nullement le titre de Sorcier. Une inscription royale qui date précisément du roi Ahmès définit ainsi cette face de la personne royale: 'Les écrits (magiques) du dieu Thot sont à ses côtés; le dieu lui a donné la science des choses' ( = magie), il est celui qui enseigne aux scribes leur science; c'est lui le dieu Grand-Magicien

 (Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv, pp. 19-20). Si les monuments émanant de la chancellerie royale définissent en ces termes les pouvoirs surnaturels du roi, il ne faut plus s'étonner que de pauvres hères osent demander au Pharaon des faveurs aussi personnelles, une chance aussi singulière.

Je dois noter, en finissant, que les stèles de ce genre sont plus particulièrement abondantes au temps de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie. A cette époque aussi les Égyptiens des hautes classes se plaisent à décrire, dans leurs tombeaux, les rapports personnels fréquents qu'ils ont avec la famille royale. Le roi vient les visiter chez eux, se laisse adorer par eux côte à côte avec les dieux (tombe de Neferhotpou); il permet aussi aux gens d'humble condition de lui adresser leurs adorations et leurs vœux. Je me demande s'il n'y a pas quelque rapport entre ce développement du culte populaire des rois et la politique bien connue des Pharaons de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie contre l'autorité envahissante du sacerdoce officiel. C'est précisément sous Aménophis IV, le persécuteur des prêtres d'Amon, que la personne du roi se livre



avec le plus de confiance à l'adoration de ses sujets. Peut-être a-t-on encouragé à cette époque le culte personnel du roi comme pour opposer le contre-poids de la piété populaire et loyaliste des sujets au culte officiel des dieux thébains qui tournait à l'avantage du sacerdoce.

Quoi qu'il en soit, les monuments de ce genre nous aident à mieux connaître le culte populaire rendu au roi, sur lequel les temples ne nous apprennent rien. Le vieux sentiment de crainte et de vénération pour le chef qui s'impose à tous par sa science des choses divines et humaines, et par sa puissance matérielle et surnaturelle, trouve encore, sous la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, une forte expression dans le culte rendu au Dieu Bon (𓇗𓇏), le Pharaon bienfaisant, prototype des Évergètes et des Césars très grands et très bons.

## 7

## PRIESTHOODS OF WOMEN IN EGYPT

By MISS MURRAY. (ABSTRACT)

THE Old Kingdom is the practical starting-point for a study of this kind, as the earlier records are too scanty to be of use. The Egyptian custom of inscribing not only the dead man's name and titles on the walls of his tomb chapel, but also the names and titles of his wife and children, gives us a great mass of information as to the priesthoods; while the Greek authors help us to identify the gods who were worshipped in early times.

The identification of some of the Egyptian gods with Greek divinities ought to throw light on the priesthoods and ritual. For example, Neith is with reason identified by the Greeks with Athena. Athena is a goddess of war and carries a shield and spear, and one of the earliest emblems of Neith is a shield and arrows. Athena is the goddess of weaving, as proved by her contest with Arachne and her statue at Erythrae with distaffs in the hands (Paus. vii. 5. 9); while another emblem of Neith is the shuttle. Again, there was a sanctuary of Athena the Saite (Mount Pontinus: Paus. ii. 36. 8), and Neith is the goddess of Sais (a colony of Athens: Hdt.). Athena is also called the Worker, because she was the goddess of the arts of life and was therefore worshipped specially by artisans (Frazer, Paus. ii. 297). At Memphis the most important temple was that of Ptah, god of the arts of life, specially worshipped by craftsmen; and the next in importance was

that of Neith : for the temples are identified by the epithets applied to the respective deities, Ptah South of the Wall, Neith North of the Wall (MM. D 47, D 55 ; LD ii. 46 ; DM. 532, 558). I have found twenty-two holders of priesthoods of Neith in the Old Kingdom, Neith without epithet, Neith North of the Wall, and the Universal Neith (i.e. Neith in all her places) ; and these are, without exception, women. Unfortunately our knowledge of the priesthoods of Athena is of much later date, but Frazer (Paus. ii. 346) suggests that the 'long series of archaic female statues which were excavated between the Erechtheum and the North wall of the Acropolis are statues of priestesses of Athena.'

The goddess whose worship was most widespread in Egypt is Hathor. In the Old Kingdom her two chief temples were at Denderah and Memphis. Her worship at Denderah was kept up till the end of Egyptian history, but at Memphis it was merged into that of Aphrodite, with whom she was identified by the Greeks. The Memphite form of Hathor seems to have been Hathor, Lady of the Sycomore Tree ; for with few exceptions all the priestesses of her temple that are known are buried in the neighbourhood of Memphis. Hathor was served chiefly by female priests (𓆎𓅓) in the Old Kingdom, though a few male priests are known ; Hathor of Denderah and Hathor of Cusae are the local forms of the goddess which were served by men as well as women, but Hathor of the Sycomore and the Universal Hathor (lit. Hathor in all her places) had priestesses only. But though there were many priests and priestesses of Hathor, the only overseer of her priests (𓆎𓅓𓆎𓅓) of whom I can find a record in the Old Kingdom was a man (AS. iii. 134). The priests and priestesses of Hathor are called *Henu-neter* ; there seem to be no *uab* priests of this cult.

The position of Upuaut, the jackal god of Siut, is unique among the male divinities of Egypt, in that he appears to have been served by priestesses only, both *uab* and *henu-neter*, in the Old Kingdom at least. This is the only female *uab* priest that I know of at that period (MM. C 26). In the Twelfth Dynasty, however, there seems to have been a change ; for, in the contracts of Hepzefa with the priests of the temple of Upuaut at Siut, the whole *Kenbet* or 'council' of the temple were men, Hepzefa himself being the overseer of the prophets of Upuaut. But on the analogy of the priesthoods of Hathor, it does not follow, because the overseer of the *Henu-neter* was a man, that the *Henu-neter* themselves were of the same sex. The female priesthood of Upuaut survived till the Twenty-second Dynasty, as is seen in the sculptures at Bubastis. There, at the Sed-festival of Osorkon II, the great figure of the jackal-god, Upuaut Lord of Siut, is the





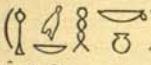




principal statue in the procession; it leads the way when the procession moves, it is given the most conspicuous place when the procession is stationary; it towers above king, priests, and statues of other gods, when it is carried at the end of the procession immediately in front of the king (Fest. Hall, pl. ii.). In this last place, it is carried by six priests, and is preceded by a woman whose title is *Mut neter en Sauti* 'Divine mother of Him of Siut.' Here is evidently the high-priestess of the god, who by reason of her rank and importance fills one of the most conspicuous places in the great ceremony. In the representations of the Sed-festival of Amenhetep III at Soleb (LD iii. 85) a woman also heads the procession of the priests of Upuaut, though there she has no title, and it is only from the sculptures of Osorkon that we know her rank and functions. In the Ptolemaic texts at Edfu the title of the high-priestess of Siut is given.

We have no records of the cult of Amen of Thebes in early times; the god himself is hardly known till the Middle Kingdom, when the names of some of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty are compounded with the name of Amen, i.e. Amen-em-hat. It is not till the New Kingdom that we first find mention of the *shemayt*, or female musicians, of Amen. These women must have been chosen for their voices or for their skill in music, as they belong to all classes of society, from the wives of artisans up to the ladies of the highest rank. The head of the *shemayt* was styled Great *shemayt* of Amen (Br. Thes. 954). Similar priesthoods were attached to the temples of other divinities, for we find *shemayt* of Osiris (M.A. 1182), of Hathor (M.A. 1128), of Isis (B.M. 132) of Mut (M. A. 1128), of Hapi (M.A. 1139)), and a chief *shemayt* of Anhur (M.D. 78).

In the Twentieth Dynasty the title of the chief priestess seems to have been changed; for she is then known as Divine Wife of Amen, Worshipper of the God, and this office was always held by a lady of the blood royal. The title of Worshipper of the God was probably the more important of the two, as it is enclosed in the queen's cartouche with her name. The high-priesthood of Amen appears to have carried with it the temporal as well as the spiritual power in Thebes, and it was therefore a matter of political importance that either the wife or the heiress of the ruler of Egypt should hold the office. Under the Saite dominion it was customary for the king to contract a purely ceremonial marriage with the high priestess, who then adopted the eldest princess, his daughter by another wife. This title of 'Worshipper' continues into the Ptolemaic period.

That it was customary even in the early part of the New Kingdom for the queen to be a priestess seems to be shown by the sculptures at Tel el Amarna, where Nefertythi makes offerings, equally with her husband, to the Aten.



Of priestesses serving other male divinities in the Old Kingdom, I have found *henu-neter* of Thoth ( MM. D 5), of a jackal-god  () , and of   , apparently a nome-god ( MM. D 5). This last is a *hen-neter em-khet* () , showing that the women passed through the same grades of the priesthood as the men. In the Twenty-first Dynasty Queen Nesikhonsu is the *Hen-neter* of Khnum (P. Hist. iii. 218).

In Ptolemaic times there appears to have been a high-priestess as well as a high-priest in the chief temple of each nome. An almost complete list of these titles is found at Edfu, and has been classified by Brugsch (*Dict. Géog.* 1361, 1368). Almost all these priestesses have the subsidiary title of 'Sistrum-player', as well as the special titles of the high-priestesshood. The meaning of many of the special titles is not clear, but a few are obvious, e.g. *hert nest* 'Chief of the throne,' at Edfu; *duat* 'Worshipper,' at Thebes and Sebennytus; *hent netrui* 'Servant of the two gods,' at Aphroditopolis; *hebst* 'The Clothier,' at Hieraconpolis; *Mut neter* 'Mother of the god,' at Letopolis; and *urt* 'The great one,' at Sais. The study of these titles should throw light on the ritual and characteristics of the respective deities. Special titles like these denote a high antiquity. It would appear therefore that the male priesthoods of Amen were of later date than female priesthoods, for the priestess is Worshipper, the priest merely First *hen-neter*; whereas the high priests of Heliopolis and Memphis had special titles.

In the cult of the dead kings one would hardly expect to find priestesses, but at the beginning of the Old Kingdom there are two : which suggests that in early times there was no distinction of sex in these priesthoods, but that later they passed entirely into the hands of men. These two women are Nefert-seten, *hen-neter* of Snefru (A.S. iii. 202), and Hetep-her-es, *hen-neter* of Khufu (MM. B 2). Of the rare title *Hen-neter* of the *Mert*-house of a king, one woman is known, Ra-hent, who was priestess of the *Mert*-house of Teta (MM. D 65). There seem to be no other priestesses of kings till the Nineteenth Dynasty, when there is a *shemayt* of Thothmes III (P.R. ii. 77).

In the funeral ceremonies of nobles in the Old Kingdom women have no official duties, there is no female *kheri-heb* and no female *hen-ka*, and but one doubtful instance of an overseer of the *henu-ka*, where the title might refer either to the lady or her son (SM. i, pl. 7). In the long list of *Senu-Zet*, the Brethren of Eternity, whose duties and official status are still unknown, there are only two women (MM. D 1, D 51), but among the rare Children of Eternity there is one Sat-Zet (MM. D 11).



Still, in the cult of the Royal Dead, women were admitted to the priesthood.

Although negative evidence is never conclusive, yet it is interesting to look through the early priesthoods and to see at which worships women assisted, at which they were the only officiants, and from which they were excluded. Neith, the goddess of war, has none but women priests; while the goddess of birth, the frog Heqt, has none but men, though as an animal god she must be very early. The jackal Upuaut has only priestesses, the jackal Anubis has only priests.

But in spite of apparent anomalies, it appears that from the earliest times of which we have record, down to the end of Egyptian history, women's position in the service of the gods was assured. The evidence of Edfu shows that every great sanctuary had a high-priestess, and the glimpses that we occasionally catch of earlier times, added to our knowledge of the conservative character of Egyptian ritual, lead us to believe that this was the case throughout the whole historical period.

## 8

## HISTORICAL REFERENCES IN HERMETIC WRITINGS

By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. (ABSTRACT)

THE *Kore Kosmou* is the earliest of the Hermetic writings, by its references to Egyptian gods and its strongly material tone. It uses the simile of a good satrap who bestows the fruits of victory upon the vanquished. This implies the Persian rule in Egypt, 525-405 B. C.; and the only known source for the simile is the plunder of Cyrene about 518 B. C., when much treasure was brought into recently conquered Egypt. The writing may then be dated about 510 B. C., or certainly before 410 B. C. The sermon of Isis to Horus is the continuation of the same writing.

The *Definitions of Asclepius to King Ammon* (*Corp. Herm.*, xvi), expresses abhorrence of translation into Greek, and of Greek ideas and language. This points to a time before Philadelphus when translation was general; and being addressed to an Egyptian king (Ammon being the mystic father of all the kings), and hating the Greek, it cannot refer to a later king than the last Egyptian, Nectanebo, 359-342 B. C. It may then be placed about 350 B. C.

The *Perfect Sermon*, translated by Apuleius (or some other early Latin-African), must have been written before the time of Constantine by the references of Lactantius, and still earlier by the style of the

Latin translation. The allusions in it are not later than the first or second century; the worship of sacred animals, and wars on their account, the wrathful Isis, and the central importance of Egypt all show this. It is impossible, therefore, to put the statement of the destruction of the worship to the Christian triumph in 389 A. D. under Theodosius. The historical allusions are, to Egypt being the transference of heavenly governance to earth—referring to the heavenly descent of the kings, which ended with Nectanebo; to foreigners newly filling the land—which could be no novelty after the Macedonian occupation; to neglect and proscription of Egyptian worship—which was never hindered between the Persian attack on the religion and culture at the conquest in 340 B. C. and the Christian attack in 389 A. D.; to Scythians and Indians being the typical extreme foreigners,—as they were in the Persian army, but never since; and to a very bloody war. All of these details are true of the violent Persian wreck of the country and its religion in 342 to 332 B. C., but none of them can be fixed to any later date before the limits when the document was well known. It must be dated, therefore, about 340 B. C.

In the treatise *About the Common Mind* (*Corp. Herm.*, xiii), intellectual man is said to occupy Egypt, Persia, and Greece. This could not be written after the fall of Persia and the rise of Syria and Italy.

If the longest Hermetic writings thus belong to the Persian age, it is probable that the whole group are not far removed from that period.

## 9

## NOTES ON SOME PAINTINGS FROM POMPEII REFERRING TO THE CULT OF ISIS

BY FRIEDRICH FR. W. VON BISSING. (ABSTRACT)

THIS spring I had occasion to re-examine the frescoes relating to the cult of Isis, which are now preserved in the Naples Museum. Several details appear to me not to have been hitherto well understood, and in some cases other monuments of Graeco-Roman Egypt seem to afford interesting analogies, even if they do not contribute much to the interpretation. For instance the ewers carried by two priests of Isis on the fresco published by Guimet<sup>1</sup> are surrounded at the bottom by a wreath of roses. An exactly similar wreath covers the foot of one of the so-called Canopic jars of Roman times in my

<sup>1</sup> *L'Isis romaine*, pl. vii: Naples fresco, 8972.



collection—figures of the mummified Osiris in the shape of a vase. As for the very special form of the ewer which occurs in other similar frescoes,<sup>1</sup> I do not know of any specimen exactly like these painted ones; but vases of a somewhat baroque shape, with large spouts and handles, are known amongst the so-called Coptic metal vessels (published in my *Metallgefässe*<sup>2</sup> and Strzygowski's *Koptische Kunst*<sup>3</sup>), and offer a certain analogy to the Pompeian frescoes. I may say at the same time that the vessels which the bearded priests hold are simply the well-known *Situlae* in their characteristic late shape (cf. my *Metallgefässe*, pl. xii), and in no way imitate the form of a human breast.

It seems surprising at first to see priests of Isis and Osiris wearing beards; we are so accustomed, both in classical tradition and in ancient Egyptian statuary, to find priests with head and face clean-shaved that we readily believe the custom to have been universal. And yet there is more than one example extant of bearded priests of Hellenistic or Roman times. It may be sufficient here to quote the so-called *Barracco Caesar* which I still consider represented a Sothis priest, and a head in black granite from Dimeh, now in the Glyptothek at Munich (and soon to be published in my *Denkmäler*); where we see a man wearing a full beard and short but slightly curled hair, who is shown to be a priest by a fillet ending in two lotus-buds above his forehead. Fillets of this description are regularly worn by priests in Ptolemaic Egypt, and we see Harpocrates wearing lotus-buds exactly like these on Roman terra-cotta figures from the Fayoum.

It seems to me very probable that the frescoes now in the Naples Museum go more or less directly back to Alexandrian paintings. More than one detail is wholly Egyptian, and has not always been rightly understood. On the great fresco showing the priest carrying the water-jar out of the holy of holies,<sup>4</sup> we see a priest standing next to the altar, and holding in his right hand a fan. Fans of this kind we know to have been already used in the Old Kingdom to kindle the embers, and even in these days they are to be found in most Egyptian kitchens. They often consist simply of the wing of a fowl. Right in front of the altar two ibises are depicted. Ibises certainly lived in the Alexandrian Isaeum, and were there kept by the priests. But it seems that at Pompeii, at any rate, instead of keeping live birds, statues of them were placed there. The Naples Museum has two figures of ibises<sup>5</sup> of about natural size, imitating by different materials

<sup>1</sup> Naples fresco, 8563.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Nos. 3491 and 3500.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Pl. xxx.

<sup>4</sup> Guimet, *L'Isis romaine*, pl. viii: Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 1112.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 407 and 409 in the *Guida del Museo*.



Fresco in the Naples Museum.





the colour of the sacred bird. These were found at Pompeii in the Isis temple, and probably had been used there to represent the living birds. It is possible that, just as in the frescoes, palm-groves and gardens surrounded the sanctuary; but certainly at Pompeii there was little space for anything of the kind; and the existence of evidently large gardens surrounded by walls in the immediate neighbourhood of the Isaeum, as shown on both the frescoes, seems to me a certain proof that these paintings picture not the temple of Isis at Pompeii but some more important sanctuary, probably the one at Alexandria. It is also evident that the architecture of the frescoes in no way agrees with the actual remains at Pompeii.

But the most remarkable difference between the old descriptions and the results of the recent careful examination is in regard to the other great fresco.<sup>1</sup> It has generally been considered that a negro or Ethiopian was dancing there in front of the cella, and various reasons have been alleged for this dance: he was said to represent the Nile god, as on his head he wore water-plants. It is, however, difficult to believe that any Egyptian would have recognized 'Father Nile' in this disguise, and it seems very improbable that the Nile god should dance on any occasion. We know him bringing offerings on old Egyptian monuments; we see him lying as a venerable old man in the celebrated Vatican statue; as an old bearded man, although not always in venerable positions, we find him represented in Alexandrian terra-cottas. Even in the Isis temple itself there existed a picture of the Nile god as an elderly man with a large beard, namely, on the fresco of the arrival of Io in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> Could the Nile god be represented twice in so absolutely different a way?

Even in the bad copies which have been published some interesting details may be seen. The face of the dancer resembles a mask of an animal more than that of a human being, and the body as well as the forehead and arms is covered with hair. In fact, it is not a negro but the god Bes, who is dancing here. Instead of the usual feathers he seems to be wearing water-plants on his head; but in some terra-cottas of Roman times we see upon the head of Bes a cow wandering through papyrus bushes; on other occasions the god is wearing a lotus flower or palm-leaves on his head. The absence of the feather crown does not seem to me an insurmountable objection to the explanation of the dancing man as Bes.<sup>3</sup> I may add that several competent persons whom I asked to examine the original with me were quite convinced of this new interpretation. Of course it is not the god himself who is dancing, but a priest playing the part of the god.

<sup>1</sup> Guimet, op. cit., pl. ix: Helbig, 1111.

<sup>2</sup> Helbig, 138.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Jahrbuch des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vi. p. 83.



Bes is known to be a god of the dance from the earliest times, and already in the age of the Pyramids the dwarf dances 'the dance of the god'. We know him to have been connected with the cult of Isis and Osiris, although we have as yet no particulars about his rôle. So weneed not be astonished to find Bes dancing here before the sanctuary of Isis. Nor need the performance itself surprise us. Schaefer, in his remarkable essay on the *Osiris mysteries*, has shown that at least as early as the XIIIth dynasty the ancient Egyptians used to perform the holy scenes of the life and death of Osiris; and he has collected many passages referring to similar religious dramas. We now see that even in Alexandrian times these mysteries were carried on, and that priests disguised as gods used to appear before the public. We may also quote the fact recorded by Plutarch that Cleopatra disguised herself in public as Isis; which she evidently can only have done on the occasion of festivals, when she played the rôle of the goddess. The custom itself was extremely old. On the Abusir reliefs from the sanctuary of the sun-god we see priests wearing the skins of dogs above their heads. Several statues, mostly of Saitic times, but probably copying an Old Kingdom fashion, show priests of Thoth with the skins of apes on their heads and shoulders. The priest imitates the appearance of the god, to make himself agreeable to the god, and to make his own power equal to that of the god. He becomes the likeness, the incarnation of the god. From this to the custom of appearing as a god before the worshippers, and of performing the life and death of a god there is only one step.

SECTION IV  
RELIGIONS OF THE SEMITES





## PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

BY MORRIS JASTROW

PERMIT me by way of introduction to give expression to a sense of embarrassment at being asked to preside over a section which comprises so many distinguished scholars far worthier of the honour which the Local Committee has seen fit to confer upon me.

I am reminded of an utterance of Herbert Spencer that honours should not be conferred at the end of a man's career as an acknowledgement of results achieved, but that they should be offered as an encouragement to those who are engaged in their life's work and at a time when such honours can act as a further stimulus. It is in this sense that I gratefully accept the appointment, and with it the task of placing before you a survey of recent work and progress within the field of Semitic religions, and more particularly since the last International Congress for the History of Religions held in Basel in 1904. Before, however, recounting our gains, let us briefly recall our losses and pay our tribute to the memory of those who have been called away from their labours. Since the Basel Congress, the last of the pioneers in the young Science of Religion has passed away. I refer to Albert Réville,<sup>1</sup> the first occupant of the chair for the History of Religions at the Collège de France, whose name will always be associated with those of Max Müller and Cornelis P. Tiele—the trio to whom is so largely due the progress in the historical investigation of religions, and above all the present position of the study of religion in the realm of sciences. While Réville's chief activity lay outside the field of Semitic religions, it touched this field at various points, notably in the last of his larger publications, a most valuable study of Jesus, representing the ripe fruits of a lifetime's occupation with one of the most important themes in the whole

<sup>1</sup> Born April 3, 1826; died Oct. 25, 1906. For a full account of Albert Réville's career see the article by P. Alphandéry in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. liv, pp. 401-423.



domain of religious history.<sup>1</sup> Nor should we omit to mention the proof that he gave of that keen sympathy with present-day problems, which the scholar living in the seclusion of his study is in constant danger of losing. At an advanced age he threw himself with the vigour of youth into the public arena to raise his voice for truth and justice.<sup>2</sup>

Alas! that we are also called upon to mourn the loss of his distinguished son, Jean Réville.<sup>3</sup> Albert Réville died full of years with his life's work accomplished. Jean Réville was snatched away in the midst of his labours. During the short incumbency of his father's chair to which he was chosen as the natural successor, he maintained the high standard established for it. Many will miss his genial presence at this Congress, to which he himself had looked forward with intense joy, and in which he was to have taken a prominent part. Indeed, to Albert and to Jean Réville is due the initiative for holding these International Congresses; and it seems appropriate, therefore, to recall at this moment the eminent services rendered by father and son to the important cause to which they devoted their energies and activities.

Jean Réville's studies, while covering mainly the early centuries of the Christian Churches, extended backward into pre-Christian times, and several smaller publications bear witness to his grasp of the spirit of the religion of the Hebrews, both in its earlier and in its later phases. Numerous articles and reviews in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, which he conducted with such signal success for over twenty years, show the wide scope of his attainments in the general field of Semitic religions.

Coming to the closer circle, the names of Bernhard Stade and of Samuel Ives Curtiss will naturally rise to our lips. In Stade,<sup>4</sup> Old Testament and general Semitic scholarship lost one of its most distinguished as well as one of its most useful representatives. Within the compass of his comparatively short life he accomplished more than is given to most who have rounded out their careers. His Hebrew Grammar and Hebrew Dictionary are standard compilations.

<sup>1</sup> *Jésus de Nazareth* (Paris, 1896; 2nd ed., 1906).

<sup>2</sup> *Les Étapes d'un Intellectuel à propos de l'affaire Dreyfus* (Paris, 1898).

<sup>3</sup> Born Nov. 6, 1854; died May 5, 1908. For an account of his life and works see P. Alphanhéry and Eugène de Faye in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. lvii, pp. 269-292.

<sup>4</sup> He died Dec. 6, 1906. See August von Gall's sketch in the *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1907, pp. i-xix, with a bibliography of Stade's writings.

Within the field of religious history, his large work on the *History of the People of Israel* and his *Biblical Theology* are monuments of careful scholarship in combination with rare acumen. He excelled in constructive and reconstructive synthesis of the results of critical investigations, to which he himself largely contributed through numerous technical articles appearing in the *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, which he founded and which he continued to edit until his death. Samuel Ives Curtiss, who participated in the Congress at Basel, likewise died in the prime of life, while engaged in exploring still further the new avenues of investigation which he had opened up, and which gave promise of shedding more light on Old Testament problems. Passing over the names of Professors Otto Pfeleiderer and Albrecht Dieterich, whose activity lay in the more general field of the Philosophy of Religion and in the study of symbols and rites, it still remains for me to recall that in Jules Oppert and Prof. Eberhard Schrader there have passed away the last two of the pioneers in another youthful science—Assyriology. Jules Oppert was among those who laid the foundations for the decipherment of the Babylonian-Assyrian inscriptions. Though covering in his activity the entire field of Assyriology, his main work lay in philology and in the interpretation of the annals and of the legal and mathematical texts rather than in the field of religious history. Schrader was the first in Germany to take up the study of the cuneiform inscriptions, and, thanks to the sound philological method which he employed, succeeded in dispelling the scepticism still prevalent in regard to the key to the decipherment of the Babylonian-Assyrian script. Schrader's chief claim to grateful acknowledgement at a Congress of this nature rests upon his endeavour to apply the new material embodied in the recovered remains of Babylonian-Assyrian literature to the elucidation of the political and religious history of Israel. The importance of his *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* (first issued in 1882) is sufficiently attested by the two editions which he prepared, by the English translation which was made of the second edition, and by the continuance of the publication, though along new lines, through two distinguished contemporary scholars—Professors Hugo Winckler and Heinrich Zimmern.

The name of Winckler brings us to one of the most significant of recent movements in the domain of studies, bearing on the history and interpretation of Semitic religions. Whatever one's attitude may be towards the astral-mythological key which



Winckler has put forward and with which he proposes to unlock the mysteries and intricacies of ancient Oriental thought, and to a large extent, also, of ancient Occidental thought, certainly the views of the school which he has gradually gathered around him can no longer be ignored. Next to Winckler, Dr. Alfred Jeremias is the chief mouthpiece for the ancient Oriental world-conception (*'Altorientalische Weltanschauung'*) which is supposed to underlie Babylonian culture in its various phases, and which through Babylonia and Assyria spread throughout the East and West. Wielding a facile pen, as does Winckler himself, Jeremias understands how to present the views of the school in a manner more palatable to those who have leanings towards orthodoxy in matters of religion than is the case in the coldly rationalistic colouring which marks Winckler's writings.

Let me endeavour to state as briefly and as simply as possible the Winckler-Jeremias thesis which so directly touches on Semitic religions in general. Behind the literature and cults of Babylonia and Assyria, behind the legends and myths, behind the pantheon and religious beliefs, behind even the writings which appear to be purely historical, lies an astral conception of the universe and of its phenomena, affecting all thought, all beliefs, all practices, and which penetrates even into the domain of purely secular intellectual activity, including all branches of science cultivated in antiquity. According to this astral conception, the greater gods were identified with the planets, and the minor ones with the fixed stars. A scheme of correspondence between phenomena in the heavens and occurrences on earth was worked out. The constantly changing appearance of the heavens indicates the ceaseless activity of the gods, and since whatever happened on earth was due to divine powers, this activity represented the preparation for the terrestrial phenomena, and more particularly those affecting the fortunes of mankind. So far we can accept the theory of the new school, but the ways begin to divide with the further insistence that this conception of the universe involves extensive astronomical knowledge in early times, such as the theory of the precession of the vernal equinox, and that, furthermore, all myths and legends and even historical events were so closely associated with this astral theology as to be interpreted in terms which reflect the movements of the sun, moon, and planets, and the other phenomena of the starry universe. Proceeding further, it is claimed that the astral-mythological cult of ancient Babylonia became the prevailing *'Weltanschauung'* of the ancient Orient, and that

whether we turn to Egypt or to Palestine, to Hittite districts or to Arabia, we shall find these various cultures under the spell of this conception. It is impossible at this time to enter into details. For these one must be referred to the numerous monographs of Winckler and Jeremiás,<sup>1</sup> but attention should at least be called to the manner in which this theory is applied not only to the traditions in Genesis, but in other of the sacred books. Not merely the patriarchs themselves become personifications of the sun or moon, but incidents recorded of them are variations of certain 'motifs' (to use the musical term) whose real significance is to be found when transferred to phenomena in the heavens. This peculiar intellectual process is extended far down into periods that are definitely historical, and it is claimed that even in the case of the Hebrew monarchs like David and Solomon, the chroniclers and annalists are so under the spell of the astral world-conception that, in giving expression to historical incidents, they cannot avoid the form and formulas of astral-mythology. Winckler sums up the wide scope of the theory by saying that there have been only two 'Weltanschauungen' in human history—the ancient Oriental and the modern scientific conception of the universe—and that the sway of the former may be traced to the beginning of the new era of scientific thought.

It is not my purpose here to enter into an extended discussion of the theory, and I must content myself with pointing out that what seems to me to be its main defect is the ambition of its advocates to apply it indiscriminately. It is hard to believe that there should be a single key to unlock all mysteries and problems of antiquity or even of the ancient Orient; but even if such a key exists, it seems almost preposterous to suppose that we should be in possession of it, when so much of the early history of the Orient is still obscure and so much more still unknown, awaiting the spade of the explorer and after that the patient ingenuity of the decipherer. The ad-

<sup>1</sup> See especially the following works of Winckler: *Arabisch-Semitisch-Orientalisch* (1901); *Die Weltanschauung des Alten Orients* (1904); *Himmels- und Weltenbild der Babylonier als Grundlage der Weltanschauung und Mythologie aller Völker* (1903); *Der Alte Orient und die Geschichtsforschung* (1906); *Die babylonische Welterschöpfung* (1906); *Die babylonische Geisteskultur in ihren Beziehungen zur Kulturentwicklung der Menschheit* (1907); and of Jeremiás: *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients* (2nd ed., 1906); *Die Panbabylonisten: Der Alte Orient und die ägyptische Religion* (1907); *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament* (1905); *Das Alter der babylonischen Astronomie* (1908). The entire theory received its stimulus from the elaborate work of Eduard Stucken, *Astralmythen der Hebräer, Babylonier und Ägypter* in five vols. (Leipzig, 1896-1907), which applies the 'astral' test to the myths of various peoples.



monition of *festina lente*, always in place in matters of scholarship, must be particularly borne in mind in the case of theories, theses, and hypotheses involving wide generalizations; and one reason perhaps why the theory has not met with more sympathy among conservative scholars is an apparent impatience on the part of its advocates, who proceed by leaps and bounds rather than step by step. The result is that the weak spots of the theory are seized upon by opponents and somewhat unduly emphasized. I personally believe that Winckler and Jeremias have succeeded in showing the wide influence exerted by mythological 'motifs' over the beliefs and mental attitude of a considerable portion of the Orient, and that the connecting link between Oriental and Occidental culture is to be sought within this field. There is also every reason to believe that the Euphratean culture represents the source and mainspring of this influence, but I am inclined to believe that the age of the so-called 'Altorientalische Weltanschauung' has been exaggerated, and that it is a mistake to convert it into a formula for universal application. An astral theory of the universe is not an outcome of popular thought, but the result of a long process of speculative reasoning carried on in restricted learned circles. Even astrology, which the theory presupposes as a foundation, is not a product of primitive popular fancies, but is rather an advanced scientific hypothesis—advanced and scientific, naturally, in comparison with views regarding the universe and its government which belong to the child's age in the annals of mankind. It is too early to predict the fate of the Winckler-Jeremias theory, except that it seems safe to say that it will not be accepted in the rather extreme form in which it is at present set forth. On the other hand, no scholar working in the field of Semitic religions nor in the general field of religious history can afford to be indifferent to it, much less to ignore it. There are indeed signs that the modifications which it will surely have to undergo are imminent, and that the definite results of the researches of its two indefatigable and leading advocates will ere long become part and parcel of our newly acquired knowledge.

Prof. Jensen,<sup>1</sup> striking out for himself, though on lines that betray the influence of the astral-mythological theory, interprets the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh as representing, both in its entirety and in its special episodes, the course of the sun along the heavens, while Eabani, the friend of Gilgamesh and the second figure in the epic,

<sup>1</sup> *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur*, vol. i (Strassburg, 1906).

symbolizes the earth. The main purpose of the work, however, is to set forth the wide influence of the epic in the ancient world. The title of the book, *The Gilgamesh Epic in World-literature*, expresses the author's main thesis that not only are traces of the tale to be found among many nations—which had been previously shown by several scholars—but that the story has so deeply entered into the traditions of various nations of antiquity, more particularly among the Hebrews and Greeks, as to make those traditions practically forms and variations of the mythological themes and 'motifs'—the term used by Jensen himself—to be found in the Babylonian epic. The first volume, covering over 1,000 pages, deals with the Old and New Testaments exclusively. In a second he proposes to extend the investigation to the myths and traditions of the Greeks and Romans and no doubt to other groups. Jensen is nothing if not radical in the application of his thesis, and under his guidance the prominent figures in the pages of the Old Testament—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Joshua (of whom he recognizes two Old Testament traditions and suggests the possibility of a third), Elijah, Elisha, Saul and Samuel, David, Jonathan, Absalom, Jeroboam, and Ahijah, &c., &c., become a form either of Gilgamesh or of Eabani. The oppression of the Hebrews by the Egyptians is claimed as a parallel to the distress of the Erechites in Babylonia, which is recounted at the beginning of the Gilgamesh epic. Gilgamesh appears as the saviour, just as Moses releases the Hebrews from their plight. Gilgamesh is aided by Eabani, and in the same way Moses is joined by Aaron. Hence Moses is a Gilgamesh and Aaron is an Eabani.

It would not be just, in the case of an eminent and meritorious scholar like Prof. Jensen who has given many years to the preparation of his work, to attempt a brief criticism. Researches of this character can neither be accepted nor dismissed with a few words. The illustration I have chosen will, however, show at once the strength and the weakness of the method followed by Jensen. Parallel touches in historical events, separated by centuries and by vast tracts, are proverbially common, and when events of the remote past become blended with nature myths there are added further parallels which, since these myths symbolize the same phenomena in nature, are almost inevitable. On the other hand, the very quantity of the parallels adduced by Jensen out of the wealth of Old Testament traditions constitutes an argument in favour of his general thesis that cannot easily be pushed aside. Making due allowance for the



play of coincidences, and for the rather artificial resemblances on which Jensen sometimes lays undue stress, there still remains a sufficient residuum to justify the assumption that the Babylonian epic has, with the spread of the influence of Babylonian culture, left its traces among the Hebrews, as it certainly did among the Greeks and possibly elsewhere. Whether the thesis can, however, be accepted in the wide application for which Jensen pleads may well be doubted. A scholar's thesis, which he has produced and carefully nurtured, whose growth he has closely followed, which abides by him day and night, becomes his favourite child. Favourite children, petted and fondled, are apt to be somewhat spoiled—but that is no reason for consigning them to perdition.

It must not be supposed that wide generalizations and largely applied theses sum up the work done within the domain of Assyriology. The past three years have been marked by a solid advance in our knowledge of the oldest and most difficult cuneiform texts, known as Sumero-Akkadian. This is in large measure due to a French scholar, François Thureau-Dangin, who has furnished a translation of the historical and votive inscriptions in Sumero-Akkadian<sup>1</sup>; and since these contain a large amount of material bearing on the Babylonian-Assyrian religion, Thureau-Dangin's work represents a valuable contribution to this subdivision of Assyriology. The Sumero-Akkadian texts furnish in fact the basis for the study of the Babylonian pantheon as well as for the earlier forms of beliefs and rites. Dr. T. G. Pinches and Prof. Prince, of Columbia University, have also been active in this field; and it is gratifying to add to these names that of a young scholar, Dr. Stephen Langdon, recently appointed to a special chair for Assyriological research at Oxford, whose activity in interpreting the Sumerian religious literature has already borne good fruit, and gives promise for the future.

Prof. Zimmern, of Leipzig, pre-eminent in all that pertains to the domain of the Babylonian-Assyrian religion, has likewise devoted himself to the study of Sumerian hymns, with the result of advancing the interpretation of a number of them containing laments, chiefly on the part of the goddess Ishtar, for the lost Tammuz.<sup>2</sup> The evidence thus brought forward for the early existence of an extended Tammuz cult is most significant. Complementary to the hymns lamenting

<sup>1</sup> In French—*Les Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad* (Paris, 1905); in German—*Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* (Leipzig, 1907).

<sup>2</sup> 'Sumerisch-babylonische Tamuzlieder' (*Berichte der Kgl. Sachs. Ges. d. Wiss., Philol.-Histor. Klasse*, vol. lix, pp. 201-252).

the decline and decay of vegetation as symbolized by the death of Tammuz, we should expect a cycle of exultant songs celebrating the return of Tammuz in the spring, after the winter rains have ceased. The results of my own work, which happens to fall within the same field of Babylonian-Assyrian religion, I shall have occasion to touch upon in a paper for the Semitic section.

In passing from Assyriology to Old Testament studies, we come from one of the youngest of the sciences to one of the oldest; and yet even here we find scholars still engaged upon problems which have all the aspect of being fundamental. It is, indeed, somewhat of a disappointment to find results that only a few years ago appeared definite, questioned and rather seriously questioned. It is not merely the adherents of the Winckler-Jeremias theory who have taken up an attitude of opposition to the reconstruction of the religious history of the Hebrews on the basis of the critical work of the past two generations associated with such names as Reuss, Graf, Ewald, Kuenen, Dillmann, Robertson Smith, Wellhausen, Stade, and Budde; but within the camp of the critical school, there is at least one notable defection. Prof. Eerdmanns, occupying the chair of Kuenen at Leyden, begins a recent work<sup>1</sup> by the statement that he 'has cut loose from the critical school of Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen'. He questions the very starting-point of the development of Old Testament criticism,—the distinction of sources in the Pentateuch by Astruc in 1753, through the differentiation in the use of Elohim and Yahweh. According to Eerdmanns, the use of Elohim in the Book of the Covenant does not refer to the God of Israel, but is to be taken as a plural, and he endeavours to apply this view to the stories in Genesis, which he claims even in their latest form show a polytheistic colouring. He regards as the fundamental error of the school in which he was reared the assumption that the older sources have been re-edited and reshaped from a strong monotheistic point of view, with the intent of making them accord with the teaching and spirit of the great advocates of Hebraic monotheism—the prophets. The very existence of the 'Priestly Code'—one of the bulwarks of modern Biblical Criticism—is threatened by Eerdmanns' radical thesis.

It is too early to predict the effect of this bombshell in the critical camp, but one is inclined to question *a priori* whether the work of generations can be undone in so simple a fashion—unless indeed we assume the position that there are no such things as

<sup>1</sup> *Alttestamentliche Studien* (Giessen, 1908): I. *die Komposition der Genesis*, II. *die Vorgeschichte Israels*.



definite results in research, and that scientific work represents merely the swinging of a pendulum from one side to the other—an agreeable play, but not thoroughly real. To be sure, there is this to be said on the other side—namely, that the critical school has gone too far in the attempt to distinguish further sub-sources within main currents. When single verses are broken up into three sections, *a*, *b*, and *c*, and each assigned to a different writer or to the representative of a different school of thought, it is not surprising that a reaction should set in. I recall a remark that Renan was in the habit of making in his lectures at the Collège de France, to wit, that if the composition of the Hexateuch had been as complicated a process as some of the adherents of the critical school were inclined to believe, it was hopeless to expect modern scholarship to be able to trace it in detail. We must, I think, content ourselves with a recognition of the *main* currents uniting in the stream of the literary methods followed by the schools of Hebrew writers and compilers, and accept the warning not to carry too far a critical analysis of texts that have gone through so many vicissitudes. On the other hand, nothing can be more foolish than to suppose that, because the critics cannot agree on questions of detail, the results of scholarly investigation are not to be trusted or to be rejected. Scholarship of the highest order necessarily reaches out beyond the collection of mere data and material to tasks involving interpretation, synthesis, and reconstruction. In these realms there is ample play for the individual mind, and it is here likewise that with increase of knowledge, and with the better understanding of material already secured, modifications of views and changing trends of thought are to be frequently expected. The historical and the exact philological method applied during three generations to the Old Testament has—it may safely be said—yielded certain definite results that can only be questioned if we question the right to apply the method holding good in all other domains to a literature that is regarded as sacred by a large proportion of mankind.

An admirable piece of constructive work that is well calculated to inspire confidence in the work of the critical school is Prof. Karl Budde's history of Old Testament Literature,<sup>1</sup> to which Prof. A. Bertholet has added the chapters on the Apocrypha and Pseud-epigrapha. Differing from the ordinary Introductions by its treatment of the subject from the point of view of literary construction, the position of the work in a series devoted to the literatures of

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der althebräischen Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1906).

the East<sup>1</sup> is in itself a noteworthy feature. Carefully avoiding questions of detail, especially those still in dispute, Budde presents in general outlines the direction taken by the ancient Hebrew literature in the course of its development, from the days of the kingdom in which he places the beginnings of literary efforts to the threshold of the Christian Era.

The story told in an agreeable and vivid style betrays the sure hand of the master, and I single the work out here because it forms a suitable test by which to gauge the actual outcome of modern scholarship. No one who reads it can doubt for a moment the positive results of what is still sometimes decried as destructive scholarship. One feels here that doubtful hypothesis and mere speculations have been left behind, and that while much remains obscure and may for a long time remain so, we are marching on solid ground.

The same impression of solidity is made by another production, completed since our last Congress and, as I have no hesitation in pronouncing, one of the most important contributions to the study of the Hebrew religion. I refer to the Hebrew Dictionary which still bears on its title-page the honoured names of Wilhelm Gesenius and Edward Robinson, but which is practically the work of three scholars of the present generation, Brown, Driver, and Briggs<sup>2</sup>; with the lion's share of the work falling to the lot of the chief editor, Prof. Francis Brown. If the Bible is to be regarded as a source of inspiration, then the Hebrew Dictionary may be defined as 'the beginning of wisdom'. A study of the terminology of a religion frequently furnishes points of view that illumine an entire series of facts. Word studies have in fact played an important part in the analysis of the Hexateuch, and it is now possible to carry them on and to control the results in a manner which would have been regarded as a boon by the students of two decades ago. The entire work of three generations of critical study of the Old Testament is practically registered in this splendid production, which likewise uses the additions to our knowledge of Hebrew through comparative Semitic philology.

The task of the lexicographer is both unselfish and thankless. He works in order to save work to others, and so largely is he limited to merely registering material that he has little opportunity for putting

<sup>1</sup> *Litteraturen des Ostens*, published by Amelang, Leipzig, comprising Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Indian, Chinese, Japanese literatures, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, &c. (Oxford, 1892-1906).



his own personality into his compilation. More fortunate is the compiler of a commentary, and while it must be his first aim conscientiously to reflect present-day accepted knowledge, it is his privilege, at least in the case of disputed points, to present his own views by the side of others. A sign of the great activity prevailing in Old Testament studies is the large number of series of commentaries to the Bible now appearing or recently completed. For various reasons, the first mention belongs to the International Series, which with each succeeding volume assumes a more secure position in the world of scholarship. Amos and Hosea by the late President Harper of the University of Chicago, Psalms by Dr. Briggs, and Ecclesiastes by Prof. Barton, represent the additions to Old Testament Books since 1905. In German we now have two series completed; one edited by Nowack, the other by Marti, the former more detailed and reflecting to a larger extent individual views, the latter admirably adapted to the needs of students by the concise form in which its abundant material is presented. It is to be hoped that the interruption in the publication of the 'Polychrome' Bible is only temporary, and that the indefatigable editor, Prof. Paul Haupt, will be able to complete his large undertaking.

An endeavour to secure an improved text of the Old Testament, but limited to such changes as reflect the consensus of modern scholarship, is represented by the *Biblia Hebraica* edited with the co-operation of a group of eminent scholars by Prof. Rudolph Kittel. The edition has been generally accepted as satisfactorily fulfilling its purpose, which is to furnish a common basis from which as a point of departure further critical work can be carried on.

As still lying within the field of Old Testament religion, the unlooked-for discovery some years ago of material bearing on the life of the Jewish colonies in Egypt—so admirably edited by Messrs. Sayce and Cowley<sup>1</sup>—has been followed by further finds that illustrate the relation of these Jewish colonies to the Mother-Church in Jerusalem during the period of Persian supremacy. Perhaps the most significant feature of these new documents is the proof they furnish that the Deuteronomic ideal of a central and single sanctuary was not yet put into strict practice, since offerings are brought at a sanctuary outside of Palestine.

<sup>1</sup> *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan* (London, 1906).

<sup>2</sup> Published by the Furk and Wagnalls Co. (New York, 1902-6) in 12 vols. under the general editorship of Isidor Singer.



The completion of the Jewish Encyclopaedia<sup>2</sup> represents a contribution of the first order to the study of the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews as well as to the earlier and later phases of Judaism reared on the ancient foundations; and this testimony can be given to it despite the inherent defects of a first attempt at an undertaking of such magnitude. As an adjunct to the Jewish Encyclopaedia one may regard the *Monumenta Judaica*<sup>1</sup>—a most ambitious endeavour to compile some of the more important material in the extensive Jewish and Rabbinical Literature. The beginning is to be made with German translations of the various Aramaic versions of the Old Testament known as the Targums (*Bibliotheca Targumica*), which is to be followed by a Talmudic series (*Monumenta Talmudica*), including a subdivision designated by the somewhat vague title of Babel-Bibel. It must be confessed that while the names of the editors furnish a guarantee for scholarly work, the plan seems to be somewhat chaotic, and what has been issued is not calculated to inspire confidence.

In this connexion let me direct attention to a capital little sketch of *Judaism* by Mr. Israel Abrahams of Cambridge, published in the Constable series of 'Religions Ancient and Modern' (London, 1906). Within a compass of one hundred pages the author outlines both the main currents in the development of this religion and its salient phases. The sketch merits a place by the side of the late James Darmesteter's essay, *Coup d'œil sur l'Histoire des Juifs*,<sup>2</sup> to which it may be regarded as, in a measure, complementary. Without assuming an apologetic tone, Mr. Abrahams presents a sympathetic and at the same time a philosophic treatment of his theme; and while intended, primarily, for a general public, the volume contains many fruitful suggestions of value also to the special student.

Compilation of works summarizing the results of past investigations seems to be the order of the day. A large undertaking under the designation 'Kultur der Gegenwart',<sup>3</sup> aiming at a summary of our knowledge in all departments of research, includes a volume on Oriental Religions in which Israel is treated by Wellhausen, Babylonia and Assyria by

<sup>1</sup> *Monumenta Judaica* . . . herausgegeben von August Wünsche, Wilhelm Neumann und Moritz Altschüler (Vienna and Leipzig, 1906).

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1881. Also included in his volume *Les Prophètes d'Israël* (Paris, 1892); English translation in *Selected Essays of James Darmesteter* (Boston, 1895).

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Paul Hinneberg (Berlin, 1905). The work is to comprise four grand divisions, the first embracing religion, philosophy, language, literature, music, and art; the second statecraft, sociology, and economics; the third the natural sciences; and the fourth the technical arts.



Carl Bezold, Islam by Goldziher, Egypt by Erman, India and Persia by Oldenberg, and Christianity by Harnack, Jülicher, and others. The indefatigable Dr. Hastings announces as ready the first volume of a *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*. To students of Semitic religions as to students of religion in general, such a work, despite its necessary gaps and imperfections, will be indispensable, and we may expect from it, when completed, as well as from a similar work to be published in German,<sup>1</sup> a further stimulus to the historical study of the great religions of the past and of the religious problems of the present age.

Within the field of Islam, likewise, the two most notable undertakings to be singled out in this rapid survey are works of compilation. After many years of preliminary labour, the publication of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* has begun,<sup>2</sup> the international character of which is not only illustrated in its list of contributors, which includes the Arabic scholars of two continents, but in the trilingual feature, the parts appearing simultaneously in English, German, and French. The work is to consist of three volumes of about 1,000 pages each, and is to cover geography, ethnology, and biography as well as the religion proper. It is safe to say that there is no work in the whole domain of Semitic Religions more urgently needed. Such a work will serve to sum up the labours of the large array of brilliant scholars, from De Sacy, Fleischer, Ewald, and Dozy to Nöldeke, de Goeje, Robertson Smith, Goldziher, Wellhausen, Margoliouth, Browne, Bevan, and Macdonald, and their pupils, who have devoted themselves to furnishing material for the historical study of Islam and who have made such notable contributions to the interpretation of Islamism in all its phases.

Another undertaking of a large character, and all the more noteworthy because it is the work of one man, is the compilation of extracts in Italian translation from the chief Arabic sources for the study of Islam. Three large volumes of folio size, each containing over 600 pages, have already been issued by the indefatigable Prince of Teano, under the title of *Annali dell' Islam*.<sup>3</sup> This brings the collection of the material, which is arranged chronologically under suitable

<sup>1</sup> *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Handwörterbuch in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung, unter Mitwirkung von Hermann Gunkel und Otto Scheel, herausgegeben von Friedrich Michael Schiele (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr).

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography, and Biography of the Muhammedan Peoples. Prepared by a number of leading Orientalists under the supervision of Dr. M. Th. Houtsma, Editor-in-chief, &c. (Leyden, 1900).

<sup>3</sup> *Annali dell' Islam*, compilati da Leone Caetani, Principe di Teano (Milan, 1905).



headings embodying the chief events of each year, to the twelfth year of the Hegira. The work will comprise nine volumes, with three additional volumes for indices. By the stupendous nature of the undertaking Caetani links his name to those great compilers of the past, Assemani and d'Herbelot, and it is needless to add that his work will be an indispensable aid to every student of Islam. The elaborate introduction and the full discussions which Caetani adds to his extracts will facilitate the use of the sources from which he draws. Thus, by having extracts from various writers bearing on the same event brought before him, the special student is aided in his task of applying critical methods to separate the unreliable and manifestly false from what is trustworthy in the compilations of the Arabic historians.

In a rapid survey of several general works on Mohammed and Islam that have appeared during the past three years, it is possible to refer only to Prof. D. S. Margoliouth's *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam* (New York, 1905), which, however, also takes precedence of others by its thoroughness and by the literary charm of presentation. New sources have been used by the distinguished scholar, who brings to his task a wealth of learning that is not limited to one field, but extends to many others. Even more important than some of the detailed points in the career of Mohammed, more particularly of the influences by which he was surrounded, which are set forth in a new and striking light, is the keen and brilliant psychological analysis of the character and the methods of the Arabian prophet and leader. Data from *Modern Psychology*, and more particularly the results of the scientific investigations of Spiritualism, as well as incidents in the history of Mormonism, are skilfully introduced to heighten the effect of the picture drawn by Prof. Margoliouth; and if asked to single out a chapter in a work which should be read in its entirety, I should like to point to the one on 'Islam as a Secret Society' (by which he means the early years of the new faith) as a particularly striking illustration of the author's method and of his masterly grasp of the subject. Passing by various contributions of Professor Goldziher to the elucidation of important features in Mohammedan theology<sup>1</sup>—the field in which he is the acknowledged master—let me at least mention in a word the important summary by René Dussaud of the results of epigraphical finds of the last decades in Syria, with

<sup>1</sup> In the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, in the *Orientalische Studien* in honour of Nöldeke (Giessen, 1906), &c.



their bearings on pre-Islamite days in Syria.<sup>1</sup> The part of special interest to us is the chapter on the pantheon revealing, among other things, the extended worship of Allah and Allat, five or six centuries before Mohammed and in districts far removed from what had been supposed to be centres of the cult of these deities. This worship points to a close connexion between various parts of Arabia in early days—a connexion that must also have been a factor in the work of Mohammed and his lieutenants in welding the Arabs into a united people.

Islam has an interest not merely to the student of the past, but also and no less to the observer of the present; and with the growing contact between East and West it requires no gift of prophecy to predict encounters, both friendly and hostile, between the opposing forces represented by Christendom and Islamism. The task of the student of religions, whose eye is directed to the present, is therefore one of practical importance and not merely of intellectual or historical interest. To this category belong such works as Vollers' interesting volume on *Weltreligionen* (Jena, 1907), in which the main currents of thought in Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam are taken up and sympathetically discussed. An interesting parallel is suggested between the gospels representing various streams of tradition regarding Jesus and the so-called Hadith literature, which aims to put together the traditions about Mohammed. Dr. C. H. Becker's monograph on *Christenthum und Islam* (Tübingen, 1907) also has bearings on modern conditions. He sees in Islam as in Christianity an offshoot of Oriental-Hellenistic culture and thought. The modern influence of the Occident on the Orient is discussed in Vambéry's *Westlicher Kultureinfluss im Osten* (Berlin, 1906), which sets forth the changes to be noted in Islam since 1875, when Vambéry's work on 'Islam' appeared. That European influence has even penetrated into the famous Arabic University of Azhar in Cairo may be gathered from Arminion's *L'Enseignement, la Doctrine et la Vie dans les Universités Musulmanes d'Égypte* (Paris, 1907).

A scholar combining a profound knowledge of the past of Islam with an extended study of its present condition and its practical workings is C. Snouck-Hurgronje, whose former work on Mecca revealed phases of life in the sacred centre of Islam that had escaped previous visitors. His keen powers of observation are manifested in the same degree in his recent study of Islam in parts of the Dutch Indies under the title of *The Achehnese*.<sup>2</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> René Dussaud, *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* (Paris, 1907).

<sup>2</sup> London and Leyden (1906). Translated by A. W. S. O'Sullivan.

covers in great detail social conditions, customs, rites, and laws of the natives of Northern Sumatra, and shows conclusively that Islam in those distant parts is merely a thin veneer over primitive rites and old-established customs which are only modified sufficiently to make them accord, on the surface with Mohammedan orthodoxy. What Snouck-Hurgronje has done for the one extreme of the scope of Islamic influence, Eduard Douttè is doing for the other extreme—Morocco. His work,<sup>1</sup> when completed, will be an exhaustive study of the rites and customs existing in this old bulwark of the most fanatic form of Islam, towards which the eyes of all Europe are again turned at the present time. To these two works must be added as a third Lord Cromer's *Modern Egypt* (London, 1908), which, though written from a somewhat different point of view, has this in common with Snouck-Hurgronje's and Douttè's, that it represents the result of long-continued observation and study of present-day conditions in a country which has witnessed the enforced contact with a foreign civilization. With the profound changes going on under our very eyes in so many Islamic countries—in Turkey, Persia, Egypt, Algiers, and Morocco—and with others certain to follow upon such an important departure as is involved in the completion of the railway from Damascus to Medina—opened to traffic on Sept. 1 of this year<sup>2</sup>—with the prospect of its extension to Mecca itself within a twelvemonth, the importance of such studies as those of Vambéry, Snouck-Hurgronje, Douttè, and Lord Cromer can hardly be overestimated in preparing us Europeans to grapple with the serious problems of the next decades. To understand a problem is half of its solution, and often the more difficult half.

To understand one another sums up also in large measure the real aim in the historical and unbiased study of religions; for religion has been everywhere and at all times the clearest and most significant expression of a people's aims and its ideals—an unfailing symptom of a nation's peculiar genius. It seems to me that the student of religions should regard it as one of the privileges of the subject engrossing his attention that, though he study forms of religion which belong to the past, he is always in close touch with the present. A religion that unites all mankind has never yet existed and may always remain the dream of visionaries, but the touch of nature that makes all mankind of one kin is the power of faith—expressed in an infinite variety of forms—in the unseen and the unknown. The study of Semitic

<sup>1</sup> *Merrûkech* (Paris, 1905).

<sup>2</sup> See the *Daily Telegraph* of Sept. 6, 1908, and Martin Hartmann, 'Die Mekkabahn' (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, xi, No. 1).



religions constitutes an especially striking illustration of this truth, not only because from centres of Semitic thought there have gone forth the three religions that have encircled the entire world, but also because the phases of religious thought and practice through which the Semitic groups have passed, fairly represent the chief varieties of religious faith, beginning with a materialization of the powers dimly felt or more clearly recognized, and rising to the spiritualization of those same powers.

I have attempted in a rapid and a most imperfect survey to give you a picture of the manifold activity prevailing in some of the sections of this wide field. Portions of the field, apparently remote, and yet on that account no less important, I have not even been able to touch upon, but I trust at least to have shown you what a vast amount of work is being done by a comparatively small band of scholars, scattered throughout the world but who are united by a common interest in a great theme. We may feel confident that as the years go on the small band will grow to be a large one, for signs are everywhere apparent of a steadily increasing interest in the historical study of all religions. These Congresses have done their share in promoting this interest, and I feel sure that the one which we are privileged to hold in this ancient seat of learning, whence so many important movements for the advancement of human thought and human ideals have emanated as from a natural centre, will help also to dispel that indistinct fear of the study of religions which appears still to be felt in certain quarters. Religion has everything to gain and nothing to lose from a dispassionate study of its manifestations and its phenomena.

To us coming from various quarters of the globe it is itself an inspiration to catch somewhat of the classic spirit of this beautiful spot. To be in Oxford is to drink from a font of wisdom that flows on perennially and to gather fresh strength for the larger tasks which each one of us hopes still lie before him.

## A CHAPTER FROM THE BABYLONIAN BOOKS OF PRIVATE PENANCE

BY STEPHEN LANGDON. (ABSTRACT)

THE most ancient liturgical literature which we possess in cuneiform characters is Sumerian. From it the Babylonians borrowed not only their religious literature, but their principle of classification into public and private services. Of these the public services are evidently much the older. The earliest liturgical form evolved by the religious instinct of humanity was called 'wailing to the flute';<sup>1</sup> and though some public psalms of the kind are really hymns of praise containing no indication of sorrow or penance, yet the title itself reveals the original *motif*. And not only this but the entire history of Sumerian and Babylonian religion, extending over a period of three thousand years, contains in the public services a dominant note of penance and fear of the gods. Religion is primarily a social expression of humanity, and it is the expression of their helplessness and their sinfulness. This does not imply that the Babylonian view of life was pessimistic; their chief desires seem to have been long life, and descendants to minister to their cults in memory of the dead. Yet, after all, their public liturgies and psalms leave upon us, as they must have left upon them, an impression of indefinable longing to be more pure.

Although the public liturgical forms are the most primitive, yet services for private devotion have come to us from a very early period. It is, however, probable that the first rituals evolved for the benefit of the individual were incantations and magic acts for healing the afflicted, who were supposed to be in the power of the demons. So far as we now know these rituals were performed in small huts, outside the cities in the plains, and preferably by the river's bank. If the symbolic act of magic were the use of holy water, the ritual was called 'Incantation of the *bit rimki* or house of washing', or 'Incantation of the *bit sala* me or house of baptism'; or, if the symbolic act consisted in employing salt and baked cakes, it was called 'Incantation of the *bit nūri* or house of light'. So then from very primitive times two kinds of sacred liturgies grew up, one of public penance and praise, another of incantation for private persons. The former was confined to the temple, the second to small huts in the fields.

<sup>1</sup> *er-šem-ma*, in Semitic *šigū*; for a list of titles of these psalms see iv. Raw. 53, col. iii. Several early Sumerian *eršemma* hymns have been published in *Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum*, pt. XV, some of which are translated in *Babyloniaca*, vol. ii, and the entire collection in the writer's *Sumerian Psalms*.



For the temple services, which on the basis of the ancient psalms to the flute (or lyre) were elaborated at great length, the Babylonians set apart special days called 'Sabbath' days or days of public lament.<sup>1</sup> These were the seventh and fifteenth of each month, and perhaps also the twenty-first and twenty-eighth.

But the Sumerians evolved a still higher liturgical form, called 'prayers of the lifting of the hand', intended for private devotions in the temple. These were said by the worshipper, standing with right hand upraised before his god and the left hand placed across the waist; at this early period grew up the practice of making small stone cylinders, upon which were incised a religious scene and the name of the owner, a dedication or some mark by which the cylinder could be identified from any other. These were used as private seals. Now the most common scene of all the many hundreds which have been found is the representation of the owner standing before his god with right hand upraised in adoration. He is most often represented as led to his god, who is seated upon a throne, by a minor deity and followed by another. This is of course a mere fantasy. Not until later times are seal impressions and seals found, on which the worshipper is represented as led to his god by a priest.<sup>2</sup>

It is not altogether safe to infer that no priest was present for the recitation of these private devotions. The great classification tablet of Sumerian and Babylonian liturgical literature [iv. Raw. 53] ends by saying, that these public and private temple services belong to the *kalu* priests or psalmists. Certain it is, at least, that the *asipu* or priest of incantation had nothing to do with the temple services, which were confined to public and private devotions. It must be considered a backward step in the history of religion, when in Semitic times the *asipu* priests were allowed to use the private prayers of the lifting of the hand in their incantation services. Naturally the 'house of baptism', 'house of washing,' and 'house of light' rituals represent the practical side of all ancient religion. That which seemed essential to the average man was to secure control of the unseen powers, since all evil came from the demons. The gods abandoned men because they were negligent, sinful, impure: the demons then possessed them and brought calamity, disease, and troubles of all kinds. This idea is very primitive and is the practical side of the social and personal consciousness of imperfection, which gave rise to the temple services.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the derivation of Babylonian *sapattu*, as meaning 'lament', see ZDMG., 1908, 29 f.

<sup>2</sup> For a list of titles of Sumerian prayers of the lifting of the hand see iv. Raw. 53, iii. 44-iv. 28.

<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact a large number of temple lamentation services originated in laments over the fall of a city, a pestilence, a drought, &c., which gave

As a matter of fact every one seems to have made use of the incantation rituals, and the priests worked out long services by appropriating the private prayers of the lifting of the hand and calling them incantations. The 'house of washing' ritual was used expressly for the king, who either in person or by a representative was required to say the *bit rimki* service in the dark of the moon, to avoid evil for his people. One set of tablets gave the prayers, now called incantations, which the king repeated during the ritual, and another set of tablets gave the accompanying ritual of the *asipu* priests. We have, however, fragments of a *bit rimki* service in which the priest said the prayers for the king. Here the evolution of ritual, in which the individual is lost and the service handed over entirely to the sacramental priest, is complete.

Fortunately the material for studying the *bit nari* or 'house of light' ritual takes us back to the period before the prayers of the 'lifting of the hand' were taken over, and when the ritual meant what it was originally intended to be, viz. a service of incantation for an afflicted person, in which the incantations were said by the priest. It seems to have been customary to inscribe amulets with incantations from these various private rituals, to keep away the demons. It is from a little amulet in the shape of a clay tablet, in the possession of Father Scheil of Paris, that we obtain the earliest incantation yet found from the *bit nari* ritual. The inscription reads :

Incantation of the house of light.

Oh black bull of the deep,<sup>1</sup>

Lion of the dark house,

Thou who art full of . . .

Thou of Marad,

By Samaš who fills the world,

By Ishtar who . . . ,

As for me who sit with hands upon my heart,

May the sacred formula, the incantation 'house of light',

With salt free from pain(?).

*Formula of placing salt at the hand.*

An amulet which dates from a period at least 2000 years later reads :

Incantation of the house of light. Of Ninib councillor of the gods, beloved of the heart of Enlil am I. Against the god of the dark storm I watch. The sacred formula, incantation of the house of light, the darkness with light defeats. He who acts wisely (?).<sup>2</sup>

a specific reason for the expression of the inborn and constant consciousness of fear and humility.

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to Marduk, child of the god of the sea, to whom his father confided all the mysteries of the water cult. This theological evolution is earlier than the Hammurabi dynasty. The Scheil tablet cannot be later than 2500 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Lenormant, *Choix de Textes*, No. 27. Also copied by me.



For the actual use of one of the incantations of the *bit nari* group we have the following from a medical text :

If a person fall ill with colic, on the day of the illness cause him to ride in a *makurru*-boat, cause him to embark, say the magical formula thus :—Incantation of the house of light. . . . Oh virgin daughter of Enlil, thou who lackest not strength, Zarpanit, thou who art all seeing, thou that waitest, thou that standest, thou that intercedest (?) intercede (?). Sacred formula, an incantation. This sacred formula repeat : he shall live.<sup>1</sup>

These examples illustrate how short formulae of this ritual were used for healing the sick and for amulets. Two of these charms (only one is given in this abstract) indicate that they protected against the powers of darkness. Both are late and reflect the astronomical stage of Babylonian religion, so that it would be hardly just to conclude that the service was originally performed against the evils attendant upon eclipses, when the powers of darkness prevailed; but at least this was the case in later times. The formula on the Scheil tablet was used against disease, and so also the one in the medical text.

We possess three long incantations of this ritual from the Sumerian period of which I shall give but one in this abstract. The service concerns the headache, and is valuable for showing how the Sumerians had worked out the incantation rituals before they were borrowed by the Semites.<sup>2</sup>

Incantation of the house of light. Namtar like a god invincible from heaven entered. He brought headache upon a man. Headache and pain at the throat he brought. Woe causing *buludu*, painful fever he ushered in. To his hand his hand he extended; to his foot his foot he extended; over his hand his hands he passed; over his foot his feet he passed. 'This man is the son of my hand, son of my foot is he.' Marduk beheld it. To his father Ea, into his house he entered; him he addressed. 'My father, Namtar, like a god invincible from heaven has entered. Upon a man he has brought headache. Headache and pain at the throat, &c. How he has sinned I know not, nor how to restore him.' Ea answered his son Marduk : 'My son what knowest thou not, what can I add to thee? As for me, what I know thou also knowest, and thou, what thou knowest I also know. Go my son Marduk; this man, the child of his god pacify (?). Bread at his head place, rain water at his feet place. Smite the headache, the words of the curse of Eridu utter. Of his limbs the curse allay. May the headache ascend to heaven like smoke. Into the beneficent hand of his god restore the man.'

*Formula of placing bread at the head.*

The reverse of the same tablet has a similar incantation, but here kneaded bread is placed at the hand.

<sup>1</sup> Kùchler, *Medizin*, Taf. i. 4-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum*, pt. IV, plate 4.

## 2. *Babylonian Books of Penance: Langdon* 253

According to the ancients water was the symbol of wisdom, and the mysteries of incantation, the power to control unseen spirits by acts and formulae, belonged to the god of the sea. This wisdom revealed by the father of the deep to his son Marduk was then revealed by Marduk to the *asipu* priests. The mysteries of the fire cult belonged also to them, since they alone possessed the mysteries of magic.

I have already shown how the prayers of the lifting of the hand were originally designed for private penance or hymns of praise in the temples, and how these were incorporated into the incantation rituals and used as magical formulae. The *motif* which lay behind this evolution is evident. In the saying of private penance for sins the worshipper had not the comfort of an accompanying ritual. Moreover, the influence of the *asipu* cult increased to such an extent, that the Babylonians and Assyrians confided the destinies of soul and body into its keeping. In the great rituals performed by them we find men no longer seeking to be healed, but to be forgiven. They now say their prayers in the houses of washing, of baptism, or of light. In other words the whole liturgy of private penance went over to the incantation cults; to the priests who forgave with sacraments of holy water and holy bread, and who burned away sins by the symbolic acts of burning perishable things.

The ritual of the *bit nuri* cult followed the analogy of the *bit rimki* and *bit salā' me* cults. After the Sumerian period prayers of the lifting of the hand began to appear here also. Of these two have been found,<sup>1</sup> each accompanied by a ritual. In the long incantation services for kings the ritual was separated from the prayers. We conclude, therefore, that the prayer and ritual here are for private penance: the prayer has passed into an incantation and a magical service is added. Several variants of one of these prayers exist which show that the prayer could be used in the *bit nuri* ritual, or in any other ritual which the priest and worshipper chose to use. I shall quote from a penitential prayer to Marduk to illustrate this phase of Babylonian religion.

Incantation of the house of light.

Hero Marduk whose anger is a destructive deluge,

Who when appeased is a merciful father:

Crying and not being heard harass me,

Sighing and no answer distress me.

The sanctuary of life verily I seek,  
Since to have mercy thou didst command the gods.

The great sin which from my infancy I have committed,  
Blot out, even seven times remove

<sup>1</sup> King, *Magic*, No. 11, and No. 22, 35-67.



Thy heart as the heart of my father  
 And of my mother, return to its place ;  
 Oh heroic Marduk, I will sing thy praise.

The prayer is followed by a ritualistic note to offer incense before Marduk, to prepare ointment of oil, water, honey, and butter, and when the prayer is ended, to anoint the man.<sup>1</sup>

I shall close this paper by translating a section of the *bit nāri* ritual used for protection against evil omens of nature. The tablet is so damaged as to render it impossible to identify the nature of the other incantations upon it. The catch-line indicates that the next section was used for the king in time of evil portents. This is important ; for it proves that incantations and prayers, strung together each with its own ritual, did not follow one after the other in a single service, but were drawn up as a *corpus* of selections for various purposes.

Incantation of the house of light. Oh Šamaš, lord of heaven and earth,  
 Establisher of right and justice, unbribable inquisitor,  
 Robed in splendour, enlightening the spirits of heaven and earth,  
 Bestower of light upon pale-faced men,  
 Lord of heaven and earth I seek thee, to thee I turn.  
 Thy girdle cord I lay hold of as of the girdle cord of my god and goddess.  
 Since to render judgement, to make decision,  
 To bring peace to all rests with thee,  
 Since thou knowest how to spare, to be merciful, to rescue,  
 Daily I some one the son of his god,  
 Whose god is so and so, whose goddess is so and so,  
 Stand before thy divinity.  
 Thee I send unto the god who is angry with me,  
 Unto the god who is enraged against me,  
 The evil omens, the signs evil and unlucky (?) . . .<sup>2</sup>

The evolution of this service, originally purely magical, but at last absorbing the higher forms of penance and consolation, cannot fail to set the whole problem of Babylonian religion in a clearer light. The sacramental element always allied to magic finally became necessary to the forgiveness even of ethical sin. The rituals of the magician in the fields gained an overshadowing importance upon the temple services. It is, in fact, these services that profoundly influenced practical religion down to the last century before Christianity.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The verb *pašāsu* is parallel to Heb. *פָּשַׁח*, and is used also for anointing stones and sacred objects exactly as the Hebrew verb. So also a *pa'ū* form *pašūsu* is used of one consecrated by anointing, just as the Heb. *פָּשַׁח*. In the rituals the significance is the purification from sin.

<sup>2</sup> iv. Raw. 60 obv. 30-45.

<sup>3</sup> This article is printed in full in *Babyloniaca*, vol. iii, pt. 1.

## TWO NOTES ON HEBREW FOLK-LORE

BY J. G. FRAZER

§ 1. *The Bird Sanctuary*

IN the eighty-fourth Psalm we read: 'How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts! My soul longeth, yea, even fainteth for the courts of the Lord; my heart and my flesh cry out unto the living God. Yea, the sparrow hath found her an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God.'

These words seem to imply that birds might build their nests and roost unmolested within the precincts and even upon the very altars of the temple at Jerusalem. There is no improbability in the supposition that they were really allowed to do so; for the Greeks in like manner respected the birds which built their nests on holy ground. We learn this from Herodotus. He tells us that when the rebel Pactyas, the Lydian, fled from the wrath of Cyrus and took refuge with the Greeks of Cyme, the oracle of Apollo commanded his hosts to surrender the fugitive to the vengeance of the angry king. Thinking it impossible that the god could be so merciless, I had almost said so inhuman, as to bid them betray to his ruthless enemies the man who had put his trust in them, one of the citizens of Cyme, by name Aristonicus, repaired to the sanctuary of Apollo, and there going round the temple he tore down the nests of the sparrows and all the other birds which had built their little houses within the sacred place. Thereupon, we are told, a voice was heard from the Holy of Holies saying: 'Most impious of men, how dare you do so? how dare you wrench my suppliants from my temple?' To which Aristonicus promptly retorted: 'So you defend your own suppliants, O Lord, but you order the people of Cyme to betray theirs?'<sup>1</sup>

Again, we read in Aelian<sup>2</sup> that the Athenians put a man to death for killing a sacred sparrow of Aesculapius. In the great sanctuary of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis on the Euphrates, the pigeons were as plentiful and as tame as they now are in the square of St. Mark at Venice.<sup>3</sup> We must remember that in antiquity the windows of temples as well as of houses were unglazed, so that birds could fly freely out and in, and build their nests, not only in the eaves, but in the interior of the sacred edifices. In his mockery of the

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, i. 157-159.<sup>2</sup> Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, v. 17.<sup>3</sup> Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 54.



heathen, the Christian Father, Clement of Alexandria, twits them with the disrespect shown to the greatest of their gods by swallows and other birds, which flew into the temples and defiled the images by their droppings.<sup>1</sup> To this day in remote parts of Greece, where windows are unglazed, swallows sometimes build their nests within the house and are not disturbed by the peasants. The first night I slept in Arcadia I was wakened in the morning by the swallows fluttering to and fro in the dark over head, till the shutters were thrown open, the sunlight streamed in, and the birds flew out. The reason for not molesting wild birds and their nests within the precincts of a temple was no doubt a belief that everything there was too sacred to be meddled with or removed. It is the same feeling which prompts the aborigines of Central Australia to spare any bird or beast which has taken refuge in one of the spots which these savages deem holy, because the most precious relics of their forefathers are deposited there.<sup>2</sup> The divine protection thus extended to birds in the ancient world and particularly, as it would seem, in the temple at Jerusalem, lends fresh tenderness to the beautiful saying of Christ: <sup>3</sup> 'Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father.' We may, perhaps, please ourselves by imagining that these words were spoken within the sacred precinct at Jerusalem, while the temple sparrows fluttered and twittered in the sunshine about the speaker.

#### § 2. *The Silent Widow*

The Hebrew word for a widow, *alemanah* (אַלְמָנָה), is perhaps etymologically connected with the adjective *illem* (אִלֵּם) 'dumb'. If this etymology, which appears to be favoured by the authors of the *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, is correct, it would seem that the Hebrew word for a widow means 'a silent woman'. Why should a widow be called a silent woman? I suggest with all due diffidence that the epithet may be explained by a widespread custom which imposes the duty of absolute silence on a widow for some time, often a long time, after the death of her husband. Thus among the Kutus, a tribe on the Congo, widows observe mourning for three lunar months. They shave their heads, strip themselves almost naked, daub their bodies all over with white clay, and pass the whole of the three months in the house without speaking.<sup>4</sup> Among the Sihanaka in Madagascar the observances are similar, but the period of silence is still longer,

<sup>1</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.*, iv. 52, p. 46, ed. Potter.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 134 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew x. 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Notes Analytiques sur les Collections Ethnographiques du Musée du Congo*, tome 1, fascicule 2, Religion (Brussels, 1906), p. 185.



lasting for at least eight months, and sometimes for a year. During the whole of that time the widow is stripped of all her ornaments and covered up with a coarse mat, and she is given only a broken spoon and a broken dish to eat out of. She may not wash her face or her hands, but only the tips of her fingers. In this state she remains all day long in the house and may not speak to any one who enters it.<sup>1</sup> Among the Kwakiutl Indians of North-West America for four days after the death of her husband a widow must sit motionless, with her knees drawn up to her chin. For sixteen days after that she is bound to remain on the same spot, but she enjoys the privilege of stretching her legs, though not of moving her hands. During all that time nobody may speak to her. It is thought that if any one dared to break the rule of silence and speak to the widow, he would be punished by the death of one of his relatives. A widower has to observe precisely the same restrictions on the death of his wife.<sup>2</sup> Similarly among the Bella Coola Indians of the same region a widow must fast for four days, and during that time she may not speak a word; otherwise they think that her husband's ghost would come and lay a hand on her mouth and she would die. The same rule of silence has to be observed by a widower on the death of his wife and for a similar reason.<sup>3</sup> Here you will remark that the reason for keeping silence is a fear of attracting the dangerous, and indeed fatal, attention of the ghost.

But by no people is this curious custom of silence more strictly observed than by some of the savages of Central Australia. Thus among the Arunta a man's widows smear their hair, faces, and breasts with white pipeclay and remain silent for a certain time until a particular ceremony has been performed which releases them from the ban. In this ceremony the performers are the sons and younger brothers of the dead man, who hold a large dish full of food close to the widow's face and make passes to the right and left of her cheeks. After that she is free to speak, though she still continues to smear herself with pipeclay. An Arunta widow is called *Inpirta*, that is, 'the whitened one', because of the white clay on her hair, face, and breast. Sometimes she smears ashes over the pipeclay, and then she is called *Ura-inpirta*, the word *ura* meaning fire.<sup>4</sup> Among the

<sup>1</sup> Rabesihanaka (a native Malagase), 'The Sihanaka and their country,' *The Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine, Reprint of the First Four Numbers* (Antananarivo, 1885), p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee of the British Association on the North-Western Tribes of Canada* (1889), p. 43 (separate reprint).

<sup>3</sup> Franz Boas, in *Seventh Report of the Committee of the British Association on the North-Western Tribes of Canada* (1891), p. 13 (separate reprint).

<sup>4</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 500-2.



Unmatjera and Kaitish, two other tribes of Central Australia, a widow's hair is burnt off close to her head with a firestick, and she covers herself with ashes from the camp fire. This covering of ashes she renews during the whole period of her mourning; otherwise it is believed that her husband's spirit, who is constantly following her, would kill her and strip all the flesh from her bones. Further, she must observe the ban of silence until, usually many months after the death, her tongue is untied by her late husband's younger brother, who touches her mouth with food, thus indicating that she is free to talk once more.<sup>1</sup> But among the Warramunga, another tribe of Central Australia, the command of silence imposed on women after a death is much more comprehensive and extraordinary. With them it is not only the dead man's widow who must be silent during the whole time of mourning, which may last for one or even two years; his mother, his sisters, his daughters, his mother-in-law or mothers-in-law must all equally be dumb and for the same protracted period. More than that, not only his real wife, real mother, real sisters, real daughters, and real mothers-in-law are subjected to this rule of silence, but a great many more women, whom the natives reckon in these relationships, though we should not, are similarly bound over to hold their tongues, it may be for a year, or it may be for two years. As a consequence it is no uncommon thing in a Warramunga camp to find the majority of women prohibited from speaking. Even when the period of mourning is over, some women prefer to remain silent and to use only the gesture language, in the practice of which they become remarkably proficient. Not seldom, when a party of women are in camp, there will be almost perfect silence, though the women all the while may be carrying on a brisk conversation on their fingers, their hands, and their arms. At Tennant's Creek not long ago there was an old woman who had not opened her mouth except to eat or drink for more than twenty-five years, and who will probably, if she has not done so already, go down to her grave without uttering another syllable.<sup>2</sup> With such examples before us, we can, perhaps, understand why the Hebrews called a widow 'the silent woman'.

If, finally, we ask why a widow should be bound over to silence for a longer or shorter time, the motive for the custom appears certainly to be a fear of attracting the dangerous attentions of her late husband's ghost. This fear is indeed plainly alleged as the reason by the Bella Coola Indians, and it is assigned by the Unmatjera and Kaitish as the reason for covering the widow's body with ashes. The whole intention of these customs is apparently either to elude or to

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 507 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 525 sq.; *id.*, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 500 sq.

disgust and repel the ghost. The widow eludes him by remaining silent; she disgusts and repels him by discarding her finery, shaving or burning her hair, and daubing herself with clay or ashes. But on the contrary, when the long period of Arunta mourning is over and the poor ghost, after being chased out of all his old haunts, is driven into the grave and trampled down into it, the widow appears beside his narrow house with the gay feathers of the ring-neck parrot in her hair, as if to let him know that the days of her sorrow are ended. Yet still, by way of a last farewell, she strips the bright feathers from her hair, and kneeling down buries them with the dead man in the grave.<sup>1</sup>

## 4

## THE RELIGION OF CANAAN AT THE TIME OF THE ISRAELITE INVASION

By STANLEY A. COOK. (ABSTRACT)

A GENERAL estimate of Canaanite religion may be gained from the evidence of monuments and inscriptions, from the excavations, and from the allusions in the Old Testament.<sup>2</sup> From the archaeology alone it is clear that Canaanite culture was at no rudimentary stage, while the Amarna tablets indicate that there was no inferior mental ability.

Robertson Smith has proved that religious and political institutions formed part of the same social structure: we have to deal with 'practical systems' wherein the relations between man and man, and man and the gods were well understood. Consequently, some ethical motives were never wanting, and one must avoid forming too low an estimate either of Canaanite nature-worship, or of the nature deities. But the fundamental weakness of these 'systems' was, as Robertson Smith has said, their inability to separate ethical motives of religion from their source in a naturalistic conception of the godhead and its relation to man.<sup>3</sup>

In the next place, an underlying identity of thought can be traced through Western Asia and Egypt from the earliest sources to the

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 503-8.

<sup>2</sup> Further reference may be made to K. Marti, *Religion of the Old Testament* (especially chap. ii); E. Sellin, *Die alttest. Religion im Rahmen der andern altorientalischen*, and to the present writer's *Religion of Ancient Palestine*.

<sup>3</sup> *Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed., p. 58; cf. pp. 74, 263 sq.



present day. Common fundamental ideas recur in a great variety of shapes in the cults of Babylonia and Egypt, in the priestly and prophetic writings of the Old Testament, and in modern Palestine itself. The historical treatment of comparative religion reveals incessant progression or retrogression, sometimes in a single area, while, in the diverse forms of religion in Western Asia to-day, it is possible to perceive how, under the influence of definite historical circumstances, the common underlying conceptions have taken different forms. Consequently, in dealing with the religion of a particular land (viz. Canaan), at a particular period (towards the close of the Second Millennium B.C.), we have to distinguish between the persisting features and those which are more accidental or incidental. We may not reconstruct a religion at variance with the known conditions of the age, and although it is necessary to consider the various external influences, we may not assume that the religion must have shared any specific characteristics which can be found in those lands by which Canaan had been, or still was politically influenced.

Although there is much evidence to suggest that Babylonia had exerted an influence upon Canaan from an early age, it is often difficult to determine whether features, which find a parallel in the great accumulation of Babylonian literature, are really specifically Babylonian. The culture of ancient Arabia, though still incompletely known, is a factor which cannot be ignored, and the region of Assyria, North Syria, and Mesopotamia is connected with Canaan by geography, political history, and by some archaeological details at a time when Babylonia itself, after the great Kassite invasion, had lost its earlier supremacy over the west. Some of the personal names in the Amarna letters (about 1400 B.C.) suggest a direct influence from the north, and, since the cuneiform script and language were used even by the Hittites of Asia Minor, Babylonian culture could have entered Canaan only indirectly. On the whole, it seems safer to work up from the common prevailing religious conceptions to the point where we can recognize specific influences than to assume that specific Babylonian features must have left their mark when Babylonia was supreme, and must have persisted.

We are fortunately able to gain some idea of the effect of Egyptian supremacy over the Mediterranean coastlands.<sup>1</sup> Although the Egyptian national cult was extended over subject lands, some of the deities of Western Asia were received into Egypt. Religious conditions in Palestine were firmly established and, to judge from the evidence, were little affected by the Egyptian suzerainty. The latter involved chiefly the recognition of the head of the Empire and his

<sup>1</sup> See, for details, *Religion of Ancient Palestine*, chap. vi.



gods. Here we are brought to the 'divinity of kings', a belief for which there is a powerful array of evidence, although the modern inquirer can scarcely determine where conviction ended and convention began.<sup>1</sup> At all events, the Canaanite vassal chiefs, like the Egyptians, explicitly recognized the Pharaoh as their god, and their letters (in the Amarna tablets) and the allusions in Egyptian texts supplement each other in illustrating some typical features of the 'system' uniting deities, king, people, and land. Thus, the 'breath' (or 'spirit') of the king, like that of the god, is life-giving, and his 'name' implies possession and gives protection. It is interesting to find that 'sin' (*khitu*) in the Amarna letters denotes disloyalty to the king or the gods, while 'righteousness' (*s-d-k*) is loyalty or obedience.<sup>2</sup> Hence, from the obligations uniting gods and men, we may infer that the root idea of 'righteousness' was adherence to the customary usage between the divine and human members of the 'system'. Thus it is that one could speak of the 'righteousness' of the deity or of his followers. In the Amarna tablets 'cursing' (verb *arāru*) is also used of expulsion; we may infer that it is literal excommunication, removal from the protective influence, whether of the gods or of men.<sup>3</sup> 'Blessing,' to judge from the Canaanite word (*b-r-k*) in Egyptian texts, seems to have involved the reverse—acknowledgement, recognition. Captives cry for life that they may 'bless' the temple of the god Amon, the 'father' of Ramses III, or that they may 'bless' his royal and divine insignia. Some such idea as this seems to appear in 2 Kings xviii. 31.

Now, the Pharaoh, the supreme human head of the 'system', was the incarnation of the national god, whose son he claimed to be. He had the attributes of the bull, the sun-god and the weather- (or storm) god. Since similar combinations can be traced outside Egypt (in Assyria and among the Hittites), the character of the Pharaoh as recognized in Canaan was not specifically Egyptian; it belonged rather to the common stock of Oriental thought. Moreover, just as the monarchical 'system' did not exclude smaller political or social 'systems', a supreme god did not supersede the lesser deities. The Baal, *par excellence*, in Canaan was a weather- or storm-god, possibly with solar attributes, but he would not supersede the local Baalim. The evidence suggests that the practical working of the small systems

<sup>1</sup> See W. R. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 sqq., 72 sq., 245 sq.; E. R. Bevan, *English Historical Review*, 1901, pp. 625 sqq.; E. Kornemann, *Beiträge z. Alten Geschichte*, i. 1901, pp. 51 sqq., and J. G. Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> See, on this, *Journal of Theological Studies*, July, 1908, p. 632, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the curses appended to Khammurabi's Code of Laws or typical Egyptian examples.



was analogous to that of the monarchy.<sup>1</sup> This, however, is a problem for comparative religion, and upon it depends the fundamental question—the effect of the decay of Egyptian supremacy upon Canaanite religion. After the decline of the Ramessid kings in the Twentieth Dynasty, and, centuries later, after the fall of the Israelite monarchy, it would seem that in both Egypt and Palestine the ruling priesthood occupy the position of former kings, while there is also a tendency for the national god to become more prominent in the religion of the individual. But the evidence does not allow us at present to trace the steps from the fall of Egyptian supremacy to the rise of the independent Hebrew monarchy, or to estimate with any confidence the development of Canaanite religion in the interval. It can only be affirmed that there was no sudden break in the development and that any investigation of this problem (which lies outside the scope of this paper) must take into account the general conditions in the earlier period.

In conclusion, we may claim for ancient Canaan a higher stamp of religion than is usually granted. It was far removed from 'primitive' religion, although, like the popular beliefs in Palestine to-day, and the elaborate cults of Babylonia and Egypt, it went back to the same fundamental institutions. And, secondly, modern research has so interwoven departments of research that progress can be ensured only by checking the results reached in one path of inquiry by those in another. In the recent accumulation of Assyriological and Egyptological material, there is an occasional inclination to overlook the value of anthropology, or to suppose that the study of the fundamental institutions is no longer of the first importance. But we cannot sever religious cult from social custom; and though we may not be prepared to accept every hypothesis of Robertson Smith in his *Religion of the Semites*, we may venture the opinion that the subject with which this paper deals can only be advanced by following upon the lines which this gifted scholar laid down nearly twenty years ago.

<sup>1</sup> Thus, the members of a group could be called the children of their deity, and in modern Palestine families will claim descent from some patron saint or *weli*, who is virtually a local god. Such saints are sometimes alleged to be former sheikhs, and the sheikh of a tribe is himself generally the proper guardian of the cult.

## TRACES OF ANIMISM AND TOTEMISM IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

By H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY. (ABSTRACT)

THE volume of *Anthropological Essays* presented to Professor E. B. Tylor, in honour of his seventy-fifth birthday, 1907, contains a most interesting paper by Dr. J. G. Frazer on *Folklore in the Old Testament*, in which he deals with the Mark of Cain, Sacred Oaks and Terebinths, the Bundle of Life, and other such subjects. Our object in this essay is to discover traces left by Animism and Totemism on the pages of the Old Testament, and, in order to do this, we shall make full use of the admitted results of the Higher Criticism of the ancient literature of Israel, recognizing the progressive character of the revelation therein contained, and the composite character of the books of which it is made up. Although the writings are themselves much later than the traditional view allows, yet modern knowledge of the primitive races of mankind enables us to detect in them relics of far more ancient days. It is now admitted that in the evolution of their culture and religion the ancestors of Israel must have passed through stages identical with those experienced by all other civilized races; and these relics survive in the guise of superstitions, and in folklore and folk-customs. Coincidentally with the Higher Criticism has been developed the Science of Anthropology, from which we learn that 'at corresponding stages of culture man is always and everywhere the same'; that in modern savage peoples to-day we may see, in various stages, the primitive ideas of the race; and that there must have been a time when these ideas were of the same living significance among the ancestors of the civilized peoples as they are among savages to-day.

In thus seeking to trace the primitive religious beliefs and social arrangements of the ancestors of the Hebrews, we do not deny the inspiration of the literature, nor impair the unique character of the revelation of which it was the vehicle; but we do throw fresh light on the methods of the divine working, in showing that in this case, as in every other, God has to take men, so to say, as He finds them, and that His eternal purposes are only carried out through the slow but sure processes of evolution.

The earliest religious ideas of which we can find traces in the past and of which we have evidences in the present, are comprised in what is



known, following Professor Tylor, as Animism, along with which went, and goes, Totemism as the basis of social arrangement.

Of Palaeolithic man we know too little to say anything definite; it is when we arrive at the Neolithic stage of culture that Animism and Totemism are found ruling the religious and social life. Down to the present day the natives of Australia have continued in what may be described as the most primitive stage of both, though with varying degrees of complexity.

It is unnecessary to define either term here, but, briefly stated, it will suffice to say that Animism represents man's earliest outlook upon Nature, and Totemism the earliest social arrangement by means of which, through the practice of exogamy, inbreeding was avoided through being made *tabu*.

In Animism two stages may be recognized; (1) the earliest, when man, knowing himself to be *alive*, concludes that all things are alive too, and endowed with a personality similar to his own; (2) what Professor Tylor meant more particularly by the term, the doctrine of souls. It is when the 'soul' becomes differentiated from the object, when, instead of 'the living tree' or 'the living stone', we think of the 'tree-spirit' or the 'stone-spirit', that metempsychosis becomes possible; and also that a further advance in the evolution of religions is made, and polytheism and fetishism with their attendant magic arise. By this time, too, Totemism is dying out.

Coming now to the Old Testament we will deal:

#### I. With the subject of Animism.

In the opening chapters of JE we are not surprised to find the narrative of the Living Tree and the Speaking Serpent, nor, later on, the story of the Speaking Ass. These, although of late date, have a flavour of the highest antiquity, and carry us back to a time when, to the ancestors of Israel, there was nothing miraculous in them, but it was as natural for an ass or a serpent to speak as for men to do so. So Homer tells us of the speaking horse (*Iliad*, xix. 404-8 sqq.), and Livy tells of the prodigy of the speaking ox, while Pliny says: 'Est frequens in prodigiis priscorum bovem locutum'; but to the *prisci* themselves it was no prodigy, any more than it is to our children, in the neolithic stage of culture, when they read Aesop, or Phaedrus, or La Fontaine.

These stories may be illustrated, as having their origin very far back, by what we know of the ideas of West Africans, or native Australians, and other savage tribes to-day.

Balaam's ass was not only able to speak, but it could see the angel who was unseen by Balaam. So Telemachus could not see Athene standing over him, but Odysseus saw her, and the dogs; so, in old Scandinavia, the dogs could see Hela, the death-goddess, move, unseen

by man, and in our own popular superstitions a dog's melancholy howl means death near.

Quite on the same lines is the occurrence of the 'Living Tree' in the enchanted garden where Yahweh Elohim walks and talks with man, the fruit of which gives immortality—and close beside it is the Sacred River or Fountain. These recur again in the last chapter of Revelation, and in the two great Sacraments of the Church carry on the ideas of primitive animism to our own age.

In the stories of the Patriarchs we find Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob intimately associated with the sacred objects of the old animistic religion—trees, and wells, and stones; and this is continued down to the establishment of the kingdom under David.

In the ancient poem of Deborah there is a distinctly animistic flavour in the touch whereby it is said that the stars in their courses, i.e. either themselves as living entities, or the souls or spirits that controlled them, 'fought against Sisera.'

In Num. xxi. 16-18, the people address the well dug by the nobles as itself a sacred fountain and quasi-divine. Connected with sacred trees and stones are the Matzebah and Asherah, which stood beside every hill-altar, and enshrined and ensured the presence of the deity.

In the story of the Burning Bush we have an unmistakable survival of animism, as we have also in the story of Hagar, when she was cast out with Ishmael by Abraham.

Passing on to the time of David, there is the interesting story of the oracle which bade him attack the Philistines when he heard 'the sound of a going in the mulberry trees', i.e. probably well-known and recognized sacred trees, adjoining a shrine of Yahweh.

The reason why certain special trees, springs, and stones were accounted sacred is to be found in the growing differentiation of the object from its soul or souls, and the consequent multiplication of extra-corporeal beings which might attach themselves to any object, or pass indifferently from one to another. This is the origin of idolatry and polytheism, with fetishism and magic. This latter is the province of the Wirreenun (prophet and priest), and is of two kinds: (a) sympathetic, by which the kindly offices of well-disposed spirits were invoked, and (b) magic more properly so called, whereby malignant spirits were controlled.

In JE Moses and Aaron are both magicians, and the magic wand is the wonder-working implement. Jacob circumvented Laban in the matter of the sheep and goats by magic arts. Witchcraft abounded in old Israel, and is strongly denounced in all their codes and by the later prophets.

Connected with this is the trial by Ordeal, which, as consisting in



the drinking of 'holy water', persisted even in the latest edition of the priestly legislation, in the case of a woman suspected of infidelity to her husband (Num. v, 11 sq.).

Coming to another branch of our subject, we may find in animism the true explanation of the persistence of the use of the term 'Elohim' for God. The 'Elohim' of a place originally meant all its sacred denizens collectively, and the name Elohim, which in the Old Testament always signifies the one eternal God of the whole universe, carries us back to those primitive, pre-Babylonian times, when the ancestors of Israel were in the animistic stage of religion; but animism and polytheism are both negated in the Old Testament by the use of 'Elohim' with a verb in the singular.

In the ritual of Azazel (Lev. xvi), we have the adaptation by the priestly legislator of ancient animistic conceptions to the purer conceptions of his own day. He substituted Azazel, as a personal angel, practically Satan, for the crowd of *Se'irim* or Jinns, to whom the people sacrificed; and the scapegoat for the sacrificial victims. These *Se'irim* are twice mentioned in the Canticles (ii. 7 and iii. 5), where the poet adjures the newly-married pair not to play with love for fear of the Jinns, in a passage which may be translated 'I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the fairy hosts and by the tree-spirits'.

They are nothing but inferior Elohim, and just as the Elohim have become condensed, so to say, in the idea of the one monotheistic God, so the *Se'irim* have become Azazel, in whom we may, with Benzinger, see the Satan of later theology. Thus God and Satan both derive from animism when traced to their ultimate source.

The last subject under the head of traces of animism is that of Names.

To the savage names are not meaningless as with us, but part and parcel, essential attributes of the object to which they are attached. Names are mystery words, and he who knows the mystery name of a thing has that thing in his power. Have we not in this idea of primitive man the explanation of the fact that such a vast number of the names of individuals in the Old Testament are compounds of Yahweh or Ēl or Baal? The custom was a survival from the animism of far-away ancestors, and the man thus named enlisted the protection of Baal, the strength of Ēl, or the mysterious potency of Yahweh on his behalf.

The same animistic conceptions may be seen in the theology of St. Paul; in the prominence given to the 'name of Jesus' in the New Testament; in the 'new name' of Revelation; and in the expression of the highest religious ideas by ourselves.

II. We come now to Totemism, as to which only a brief reference can here be made.



To show that the ancestors of Israel passed through a definite stage in the evolution of culture when their social system was arranged on a totemistic basis, we should be able to point to three things : (1) names derived from plants and animals ; (2) a system of tabu ; and (3) the practice of exogamy, together with traces of a time when descent was reckoned in the female line and not in the male.

1. Bearing in mind the conceptions of primitive man with regard to names, we have at once a reasonable explanation of the large number of names derived from plants and animals in the Old Testament, such as no other hypothesis affords, viz. that such a custom points back in every case to a time when society was organized on a totemistic basis. Thus among the Romans we find the *gentes* Fabii (beans), Asinii (asses), and Caninii (dogs). So among the Hebrews we find the Calebites (dogs), but the majority of such names in the Old Testament are personal, pointing to the American rather than the Australian type of Totemism. Full lists of such personal names and place-names are given in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.

2. A system of tabu. In Lev. xi and Deut. xiv there are lists of animals which were to be accounted unclean, i. e. tabu by the Israelites ; probably survivals of the early totemistic stage of society in which they were the eponyms of totem classes, and therefore tabued as food : which gave them a character of sacredness expressed by the word 'unclean'.

In Ezekiel viii and Isaiah lxx and lxxvi we find three interesting passages which show how potent the ancient animistic and totemistic conceptions remained among the people down to, and after, the Exile. These passages are of the utmost value and importance, for they tell us of mystic rites performed by members of initiated guilds, the representatives of the old totem clans. Originally the idea would be to render the totem animal prolific, and this afterwards developed into the mystic feast partaken of by all initiated members of the guild.

3. The practice of exogamy and kinship through females, of which there is sufficient evidence in the Law of the Levirate, on which MacLennan and subsequent writers have said so much.

Thus, underlying all the progress of later times, we find in the Old Testament survivals of animistic and totemistic conceptions which tell of the earliest ideas of primitive man, and of social 'couches' long left behind when its earliest pages were written ; and these form an abiding witness to the truth of the anthropological axiom that everywhere and always, in similar stages of culture and under a corresponding environment, man is the same.

All this is only a further proof of the correctness of the teaching of anthropology as to the evolution of man, and, incidentally, of



the truth of the views propounded by the Higher Criticism as to the origin and development of the wonderful literature of Israel which goes by the name of the Old Testament.

## 6

## THE RELIGION OF THE HEBREW PROPHETS

BY PAUL HAUPT. (ABSTRACT)

THE religion of the Hebrew prophets is said to be the basis of Christianity; but the doctrines of the various Christian Churches do not represent the original teaching of Christ, nor do the prophetic books of the Old Testament represent the religion of the Hebrew prophets. A great many sections in the early Hebrew prophets are later insertions added after the Babylonian Captivity or even during the Maccabean period.

The second part of the Book of Zechariah was written in the Maccabean period, about 160 B.C. Only the first eight chapters of the Book contain genuine prophecies of Zechariah, the contemporary of Haggai who prophesied in the second year of Darius Hystaspis, i.e. 520 B.C.

The prophet Micah was a younger contemporary of Isaiah and prophesied at the beginning of the reign of Sennacherib, 705-701 B.C. But in Mic. v. 5 we read:

When Assur invades our land,  
And treads upon our soil,  
We raise against her seven  
Or eight leaders of men.

אֲשׁוּר בִּירֵיבָא בְּאַרְצֵנוּ וּדְרֹךְ בְּאַרְצֵתָנוּ  
וְהִקְבֵּנוּ עָלֵינוּ שִׁבְעָה וְשִׁמְנָה נְסִיכֵי אָדָם:

Assur, Assyria, stands here for Syria, i.e. the Seleucidan kingdom, and the seven or eight leaders whom the Jews put up against the Syrians, are the Maccabees, the aged priest Mattathias with his five valiant sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, Jonathan; and the son and the grandson of Simon, John Hyrcanus and Aristobulus whose coronation as the first King of the Jews (104 B.C.) is glorified in the second psalm, where JHVH tells the raging gentiles and the princes who take counsel together:

Have not I established my King  
On Zion, my holy mountain?

The King then continues :

JHVH's decree I proclaim :

He said to me, Thou art my son.

Ask, and thy heritage is thine,

And the ends of the land thy possession.

\* With a sceptre of iron thou'lt shatter them

Like a potter's vessel break them.<sup>1</sup>

The Book of Obadiah was written after Judas Maccabaeus had defeated the Edomites in the beginning of the year 164 B. C. and before he undertook his second expedition against the Edomites at the end of that year. *Sepharad* is a corruption of *Sepphoris* the capital of Galilee (ספרד for ספור, afterwards צפור). Only the two couplets iv and v (verses 5 and 7 ; v. 6 is a gloss) are taken from an old poem written about 580 B. C. The prophecy against Edom in Jer. xlix. 7-22 was compiled about 128 B. C.<sup>2</sup>

The Book of Nahum is a Maccabean festal liturgy for the celebration of Nicanor's Day, although it contains two old poems written by an Israelitish poet in Assyria about 606 B. C.<sup>3</sup>

The Book of Jonah is a Sadducean apologue written about 100 B. C.<sup>4</sup>

A great many subsequent additions in the prophetic books of the Old Testament are due to the desire to blunt the edge of too keen denunciations of the early Hebrew prophets, who were pessimistic because they realized that Israel was beyond repentance.

In the standard works on the religion of Israel we are told that the statement which we find at the beginning of the third chapter of the Book of Amos, the earliest of the Hebrew prophets, inaugurates a new phase of religion. But the two couplets,

Hear ye now this word

Which JHVH has spoken about you,

About the entire race

Which He brought from the land of Egypt :

For you alone do I care

Among all the races of the land ;

Therefore I visit upon you

All your iniquities,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my remarks in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. lviii, p. 629, n. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my papers on Psalm cxxxvii, and *Scriptio plena* of the emphatic *la* in Hebrew in Peiser's *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, vol. x (Berlin, 1907), and vol. xi, col. 238 ; also my explanation of Psalm lxxviii in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xxiii (Chicago, 1907).

<sup>3</sup> See Haupt, *The Book of Nahum* (Baltimore, 1907), and *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. lxi (Leipzig, 1907), p. 275.

<sup>4</sup> See my paper, 'Jonah's Whale,' in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia, 1907.



are a late gloss, which belongs to the preceding chapter, not to the following section. The lines of the genuine portions of the third chapters have 3+2 beats, not 3+3, as we find both in this gloss and in the preceding chapters. We find lines with 3+2 beats in English poems like Walter Scott's

Proud Maisie is in the wood,  
Walking so early,  
Sweet Robin sits on the bush,  
Singing so rarely.

or P. B. Shelley's

One word is too often profaned  
For me to profane it.

The metrical analysis of the Book of Amos, recently given by Sievers and Guthe, is erroneous. The Hebrew text of the gloss at the beginning of the third chapter must be read as follows :

שמעו את־הברך הנה	אשר־ברך יהוה עליכם	iii. 1
עלי־בֵּל הקשפחה	אשר־העלה סארץ מצרים :	
רק אתכם ידעתי	מכל משפחות האדמה	2
עלי־בן אפקד עליכם	את־בֵּל עולתיכם :	

The doctrine that God chastises him whom He loves is not primitive, but a later theological abstraction. Similarly it is true that Amos intimates that the observances of religion will not be accepted by JHVH instead of righteousness of heart ; but it is a mistake to suppose that Amos realized that JHVH was the god of the whole earth.

We must always bear in mind that a passage in the prophetic books may be a later theological insertion added after the Exile or even during the Maccabean period. The early Hebrew prophets were no theologians, but patriots,—patriotic poets and national, social, ethical, religious reformers like Count Tolstoy. They were religious, but no theologians ; patriots but not politicians. For the kings and the politicians the prophets were very embarrassing persons. Their prophetic visions were to a certain extent psychopathic. We may safely say that a man whose nervous system is perfectly normal will hardly be a great poet or a great musician. The normal type is the type of mediocrity. If a man has sense enough to come in when it rains, that is all Nature requires. We must remember, however, that a high-strung fiddler is not a raving maniac, and that prophetic visions do not always pre-suppose ecstasy.

The distinguished Hellenist of the University of Berlin, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, said in the beautiful oration which he delivered sixteen years ago as Prorector of the University of

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Göttingen, at the funeral of my great colleague and friend Paul de Lagarde, on Christmas Day, 1892: 'He was not only a scholar, he was a prophet. He raised his voice as a prophet, discussing State and Church, education and religion, society and culture. It made no difference to him, if it remained the voice of one crying in the wilderness. He was dominated by a sense of an immediate mission from the Lord.'

We may apply the name of the grand prophets of Israel to all men who comprehend with one glance the universe, both the world and what is beyond, who penetrate more deeply than others but who see everything from one point of view. They believe in the picture which they see and accommodate everything to it. They try to convert the world to their point of view.

Such prophets are, for instance, Heraclitus and Parmenides, St. Augustine and Giordano Bruno, Jean Jacques Rousseau and Thomas Carlyle—all subjective, powerful individualities who arouse strong sympathies and antipathies. All have, as we read in the second part of Goethe's *Faust*:—'ein Erdenrest zu tragen peinlich.'

The point of view from which they regard the universe is religious. Common sense cannot appreciate prophetic natures; nor can the moral standard of the majority<sup>1</sup> be applied to the prophets or great statesmen. Such men are rarely happy.<sup>2</sup> They see faults and troubles more plainly; they preach therefore, Repent! But they see through the earthly mist and vapour the realm of the sun and eternal truth. This gazing gives them perhaps a bliss beyond anything measured by the common human standard.

The Hebrew word (*navi*) for prophet does not mean predictor, but proclaimer. Even the meaning of the Greek term *προφήτης* is primarily, not foreteller, but one who speaks forth. In Exod. vii. 1 we read that JHVH said to Moses: 'Thy brother Aaron will be thy prophet. He will speak to Pharaoh that he send the Israelites out of the land.' The Hebrew verb *nibbâ*, to prophesy, is semi-passive, expressing an action not dependent upon the will of the agent or subject. The prominent idea is not that of prediction, but that of delivering inspired messages. Cato's 'Ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam' would have been regarded by the ancient Hebrews as a prophetic utterance. Bismarck's *Gedanken und Erinnerungen* would have been treasured as prophetic literature; also the numerous messages of President Roosevelt, who has been compared by an American clergyman to the prophet Isaiah.

<sup>1</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche would have said *der viel zu vielen*.

<sup>2</sup> Ecclesiastes says: 'More wisdom means more pain; and increase of knowledge, more grief.' See Haupt, *The Book of Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905), and *Kohleth oder Weltschmerz in der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1905).



Instead of a prolonged theoretical discussion of the religion of the Hebrew prophets, Professor Haupt gave in conclusion a new metrical translation of the genuine prophecies of the earliest Hebrew prophet, Amos, a native of the Northern Kingdom, who lived among the herdmen of Tekoa in the Southern Kingdom, about 750 B. C. More than one-half of the Book of Amos consists of subsequent additions, many of which were added by theologians of a later age. If the glosses of an illustrative or theological character be eliminated, the genuine prophecies of Amos read like ancient Arabic poems.

## 7

## THE RELIGIOUS-HISTORICAL PROBLEM OF LATER JUDAISM

By A. BERTHOLET

By the Religious-Historical Problem of later Judaism, on which I have the honour of addressing you, I mean the question of how far the Jewish religion of the last centuries before the downfall of the Jewish State was influenced by foreign religions. It is a question which really assumes the dimensions of a problem; for the fact of such an influence having taken place is beyond any doubt, and yet—is not the main characteristic of the post-exilic Jews their exclusiveness? Nevertheless, Professor Wellhausen's words are true: 'The world invited them and they sat down to table.' Professor Wellhausen uses this expression in regard to the enticements of Hellenism in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, a period in which a large proportion of the Jewish community, including even priestly aristocracy, seemed to have forgotten their own principles and prejudices. But it is well known how energetically the better instincts of the people awoke, and how gloriously the uprising of the Maccabees swept out the foreign leaven. With spiritual weapons, too, the struggle against the Greek danger was fought out: witness the Book of Daniel. But is it not strange? While, in eagerly endeavouring to inculcate true perseverance in ancestral beliefs and customs, he shuts all doors to Hellenism, the author of that work has no scruples at all about granting free access to a host of foreign Oriental thoughts. And why do the very descendants of those Maccabee heroes bear foreign, nay Greek names? And why does the custom of giving Greek names extend even to the people, as may be seen by the names of Philip and Andrew, disciples of Jesus? Why is the very Council of the Jews called by a Greek name, *Sanhedrin*? And the pulpit in the synagogue also by a Greek name, *bema*? Why are the porch and the colonnade in the temple designated by Greek technical terms, *Stoa* and *Exedra*? Why is

there a Babylonian curtain before the Holy of Holies? Why do we meet in the temple with treasurers and accountants whose names are Persian? Why is the high priest on the holiest day of the year attired in Pelusian and Indian stuffs? Why all this at the very places where we expect to find Jewish national characteristics most carefully attended to?" For I will not enumerate the long list of foreign words which crept into the late Jewish language of everyday life for the designation of foreign products and institutions, nor need I refer to the numerous metaphorical expressions in which foreign customs are reflected. We will confine ourselves to the religious side of the question, and glance at the actual state of things before venturing on their explanation.

It is by no means easy to give a slight sketch of what Jewish religion adopted from abroad; for here detail is necessary to keep the drawing true. But also in itself the question of how far foreign influences are to be taken into account is a very difficult one.

First, late Judaism itself is far from being a unity: it shows the most various shades. Take the Palestine Jews and the Jews of the dispersion: is not the main difference between them their very difference of position in regard to foreign elements? But here the standard of our judgement should not be Philo, who represents the extreme of Hellenization, still less should we magnify that difference to a contrast of quality and principle: it is not the principle but only the degree of the adoption of foreign elements that is a different one.

But even though the fact of this adoption, however various, is generally conceded, there is another difficulty, even more serious, in the difference of opinion as to the extent of foreign influences in any one case. On principle, I approve of every warning against over-estimation of them, the more so, as one is too often inclined, while finding out affinities, to omit the counter-proof which would consist in confronting the points of similarity with the points of contrast; possibly, in many cases, this counter-proof would turn out to be the more important part of the argument. Certainly, much is won, if only we draw more sharply than is usually done the limits between fact and hypothesis, between what is quite certain and what is only partially so or not so at all. If, for example, we find that the Lilith mentioned in a late chapter of Isaiah is the Babylonian demon Lilitu, that the Asmodi of the Book of Tobit is the Persian Aēshma Daēva, that the original part of the Second Sibylline book reproduces line for line typical features of Eranian eschatology, that so special an item of this eschatology as the blessed ones eating of the holy bull reappears in the Jewish prediction of Eldad and Modad, that the Book of Adam speaks of its hero being washed in the Acherontian lake, that in the Ethiopian Book of Enoch the Pyriphlegethon and the other rivers



of an underworld, situated in the West, are alluded to,—all these are instances where the fact of foreign elements having been adopted has simply to be accepted. And these examples, unimportant as they may seem when considered individually, are of great consequence as a whole, because they bring us out upon solid ground. If at some points the existence of foreign influences is a certainty, at still more it must at last be admitted as a possibility. But on this wider field it will require careful investigation of each special case to determine, e. g. whether the increasing individuality of late Judaism, the growing sublimation of its idea of God, the diminishing importance attached to sacrificial worship, the development of the profession of scribe, are due to foreign, especially Hellenistic, influences; also whether Persian ideas have influenced the Jewish ideal of cleanliness or the special estimation of beneficence, and so forth. For in all these cases the possibility of an independent though parallel development is not to be *a priori* excluded. And, even here, foreign influences may have played their part. But, as should never be forgotten, there are in such matters influences, of art for instance, which cannot be controlled or measured and the secret action of which is not to be underrated, undercurrents which flow in as opinions of the times, without anyone asking where they come from. I know of only two ways to get a somewhat trustworthy judgement as to the reality of foreign influences. Either we may compare a later state of the religion with a former one, and ask if an organic development of the latter from the former can be traced. If not, we certainly may be allowed to take the action of foreign influences for granted; and we may be the more justified in this assumption inasmuch as Judaism of the last centuries B. C. manifestly failed to produce men of original and creative genius. Or we may consider the actual state of the religion at a given moment and ask if it is at all congruous in itself. If, instead of being so, it contains insoluble antinomies, the evidence of the action of foreign influences may be looked upon as conclusive. This is the reason why Jewish eschatology, for example, in which so many opposite and contradictory conceptions are met with, proves to be a compound product of native and foreign elements.

But assuming the existence of foreign influences as proved, new difficulties arise from the further question of their origin. To what a degree of helplessness our little knowledge in this respect may sometimes lead, is clearly shown by the contradictory views about the Essenes, for whose peculiarities scholars have variously tried to account by assuming Orphic, Pythagorean, Syriac, Persian, or Buddhistic influences. And I could go even farther by demonstrating how the Atharvaveda curses the doer of the very thing which the Essenes consider the greatest insult to the sun. If in this case a direct



connexion is almost impossible, this very example may teach us precaution; and so may Professor Dieterich's book *Nekyia* do by showing how some conceptions which we meet with in late Judaism, such as those of a celestial meal, of celestial clothes, of books of judgement, &c., may be both of Greek and Oriental origin; setting meanwhile aside the question whether the Greeks themselves are not originally indebted for these conceptions to the Orient. Most of all, however, we have to regret that we know so little about the blending of Babylonian with Persian religion which must have taken place on Babylonian soil; all the more so as there was no religious compound of greater consequence to the world of Western Asia and to Judaism, as Professor Gunkel has rightly emphasized. Besides, as one is perhaps tempted to overrate the relations of the Jews of the Egyptian dispersion to their brethren in Palestine, let us point to the high significance which the dispersion in Babylon had for them, as is clearly recalled in the following passage of Jewish tradition: 'When the law was forgotten, it was restored by Ezra (who came from Babylon); when it was forgotten a second time, Hillel the Babylonian came and restored it, and when it was forgotten a third time, R. Chija came from Babylon and gave it back once more.'

And now let us try to obtain a survey, as concise as possible, of the most important parts of Jewish faith where the question of foreign influences becomes practical. They may already be observed in the conception of God. Greek, i. e. Platonic and especially Stoic philosophy, has enriched it with new ideas. So, when in the Book of Wisdom God is called He who *is*, we easily recognize the Platonic designation of God. Possibly we may add the ideas, pre-eminent in the Gospel, of God's moral goodness, of His exemplary perfection and of His providence. The alliance with Greek philosophy was especially sought, in the interest of Apologetics, with a view to the idea of natural knowledge of God, the avoidance of anthropomorphisms and anthropopathies, the polemics against images of God, the Euhemeristic interpretation of the gods, the estimation of Paganism as demon worship, God's invisibility as proved by the impossibility of looking at the sun or into one's own soul, &c. Many questions remain, e. g. whether the favoured practice of designating God as the Highest, the God of Heaven, and similar expressions, be the result of Persian influences.

Without entering upon the speculations, deeply influenced from abroad, on the secrets of the celestial worlds, I merely instance the strong admixture of Egyptian-Orphic cosmogony in the Slavic Henoah, or the Platonic idea, in the Book of Wisdom, of a shapeless material from which the world was created. Oriental influence is certainly to be admitted in connexion with the idea of angels, as Jewish tradition itself assigns a Babylonian origin to their names. There is hardly a doubt



that the seven angels of which we hear as early as the Book of Ezekiel are the Babylonian planetary gods as interpreted from the Jewish standpoint of Monotheism. The close relation between angels and stars has persisted and may still be demonstrated by the Jewish-Babylonian magic texts. Other groups of angels also betray their Babylonian origin by their very number, while in the Ethiopian Enoch the alternation of seven highest angels with only six may be due to an influence of Parseeism, where the number of the Amesha Spentas likewise varies between six and seven. Above all, however, the opposition of good and bad angels with a personal chief at the head of the latter, sometimes reflected on earth in the figure of the Antichrist,—the whole dualism between the reigns of light and darkness,—is not demonstrable by Jewish premises but draws its origin from Parseeism. No less non-Jewish is the dreadful thought that elementary Spirits are rulers in this world, encroaching, as it were, on divine Omnipotence. St. Paul, who had an attentive ear for the groaning of the whole creation, is a sufficient witness that even in his time a wave of that fatalism drawn from Babylonian astrology had discharged itself over Judaism. It is more difficult to determine the part which foreign influences had in developing Jewish conceptions of intermediate beings of another and less personal kind. I mean the theological speculations on hypostases; where it is still an open question whether they are more influenced by Stoic tenets of a divine original power and its world-pervading effects, or by the Persian belief which makes the Amesha Spentas the personification of abstract ideas, or by Egyptian speculations which Professor Reizenstein in his *Poimandres* may be right in vindicating at least for Philo.

In the conception of the nature of man, Greek, especially Platonic, influence clearly manifests itself in the dualism of the anthropology as well as in the doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul, as contained in the Book of Wisdom; while in the same book the idea of human dignity, or, in the Testament of Reuben, the theory of the parts of the soul, may be Stoic. On the other hand, the influence of Oriental thought was at work in the speculations on the first man and on Paradise.

But late Judaism was much more concerned with the pursuit of ideas about final, than about primæval times, and it is significant that Paradise and the first man, that is to say 'the Son of Man', reappear in its eschatological beliefs. Jewish eschatology has become the very meeting-place of foreign elements. It is especially the merit of Professor Bousset, who in general has most successfully dealt with our problem, to have clearly shown that the expectation of a transcendent æon which, inaugurated by a universal judgement of the world, replaces the æon of this present world, differs so widely from the



expectation of a Messianic future which essentially concerns Israel alone and, on the whole, will only be enacted on the stage of this present earth, that they cannot have sprung from the same root. And here, considering the ideas about periods of the world, resurrection, general judgement, universal conflagration, a new world and everlasting life, we have first to take into account influences from Parseeism mixed with Babylonian elements, only incidentally Greek ideas; while the Messianic expectation properly so called could not remain untouched by the remarkable conceptions, then afloat in the surrounding world, of a Saviour personified in the reigning ruler, as they are attested e.g. by the interesting inscription of Priene. On the other hand, the idea of the soul's immortality which is to be found among the Hellenistic Jews, is influenced by Greek, and partly also, it may be, by Egyptian beliefs; while, again, the belief that demons struggle for the departing soul is of Persian origin.

The time allotted to me does not admit of my completing this meagre sketch by pointing to so many foreign myths and legends which teemed on Jewish soil; to such cosmological oddities as may be found especially in the Greek apocalypse of Baruch, to a great extent, as Professor Cumont has shown, in accordance with mythological ideas of the Mithra religion; to magical conceptions, where besides Babylonian elements Egyptian ones take up the most considerable space, &c. I should also have much to say about the influence of foreign models of style upon the later literature of the Jews and on their interpretation of the Old Testament. I hasten to enter upon the concluding question as to how to explain this far-reaching adoption of foreign matter.

First, let me emphasize that it is nothing new in the history of Israelitish and Jewish religion. In very recent times our eyes have been increasingly opened to the fact that from the beginning foreign influences have acted abundantly upon Israel. Their having penetrated into late Judaism is therefore not to be viewed as an isolated phenomenon but in its general connexion. The spiritual life of peoples does not differ widely from that of individuals. Some work by themselves, like the spider which moves on its own threads, while others absorb foreign material in order to work it up like the bee. The latter is the case with the Jews. No one can understand their religion without a full intelligence of their astonishing faculty of assimilation; this assimilation even going the length of actively supporting heathen cults or, as the recently discovered papyri of Assuan have informed us, of swearing by an Egyptian goddess.

Moreover, to be sure, the *milieu* in which the Jews lived was never more suited for arousing that faculty to the highest pitch than at the very time with which we are dealing. It is commonly known how in Hellenism all dividing fences of separate culture fell down and the



free current of thoughts flowing hither and thither tended to a universal levelling of spiritual development. The Jewish mother-community was still but an enclave in the midst of Hellenistic culture. From all sides the Hellenistic forms of social relations tried to insinuate themselves, and the times were not favourable to shutting the doors to trade, which is always more than a mere exchange of material goods. We see one of the most pious of Palestine Jews, Jesus Sirach, travelling. One must not think that travel in those days was very difficult; for we know by an epitaph that a Phrygian merchant made the journey to Rome seventy-two times. But we ought not to forget of what moment travel is. The Greek philosopher Xenophanes had once travelled; he had seen the black images of the Negro-gods and the red-haired idols of the Thracians, and this had forced the question upon him whether these peoples were less right than the Greeks with their theories about the gods. But the Jews did more than travel: they settled in foreign countries and the *οικουμένη* became their home. Fables were invented of an old friendship and relationship between the Jews and Pergamon and Sparta. Of special consequence was their adoption of foreign languages, at least of the Greek tongue, which they partly used even in their public worship; for there is a constant reflex action of language upon thought, and, indeed, these Jews spoke not only in the words of foreigners but in their thoughts as well, at least where apologetic interests were at stake. And when their ultimate object had been thus attained, not only to adapt Judaism to the foreigner's taste but to win proselytes, they could not avoid being affected by the ideas which these new-comers imported. Thus, when business or free choice led Jews of the dispersion back to Jerusalem, for a short stay or even for permanent residence, they came enriched with spiritual treasures of foreign origin; and we may assume that the synagogues which they founded in the metropolis, such as those mentioned in the New Testament (Acts vi. 9), were natural centres of freer thoughts.

And why should the adoption of foreign ideas have been resisted? Were the Jews not entitled to regard the Maccabæan victories as a charm to render them proof against any danger which might arise from their inclination to syncretism? Moreover, it has rightly been pointed out that in the eyes of the Jews action, not belief, was the main point, so that they did not need to be scrupulous in adopting foreign beliefs; (the same was true of the Roman religion). Still, foreign influences were not confined to the domain of belief. On the contrary, it is not difficult to trace in Jewish ethics considerable influences of Greek philosophy, especially of the Stoic-Cynical school, and, possibly, some Persian elements; besides, the Jewish ritual is undoubtedly influenced by Oriental practices.



All this leads me to suppose that we must look beyond the reasons mentioned for a further one in trying to explain the adoption of foreign elements. By the Alexandrian literature we may see how zealously Jewish authors endeavoured to prove the Jewish origin of all Greek culture, nay even of that of the Egyptians which the Greeks themselves regarded with so much reverence. The Palestine Jews did the same by pretending to be entrusted with the treasures of Enoch, who, a counterpart of the Hellenistic Hermes, was reputed the bearer of marvellous Babylonian wisdom of olden times. These are typical instances of the Jewish habit of claiming for their own whatever others possessed of spiritual goods. Not to be inferior to non-Jews in anything whatever, never to be outdone by them—that was a fundamental disposition of the Jews, as is attested by some psalms, and especially by the favourite tales of the glorious adventures of pious Jews at foreign courts. And this disposition runs as a strong and dominating motive through the whole of post-exilic Judaism. It reappears in Jewish apologetics, even Palestinian, where attacked positions are defended by pointing out their identity with heathen ones, much as, later on, Christian apologists say: 'We teach the same as the Greeks.' This fundamental disposition is ultimately the natural expression of the claim, born of a superior religious consciousness, that their own God was the God of the whole world; and this is something quite different from the assertions of the Greeks and the Romans that the polytheistic beliefs of all peoples applied to the same divine powers simply called by different names. The claim of the Jews tends to the acknowledgement that all things belong to one God, whose is the Orient as well as the Occident, their own God. Thus the prophet Malachi already asserts that all worship offered on earth is offered to Jahwe; and a similar tendency caused any acceptable religious belief or practice whatever, no matter of what origin, to be laid hold of for the benefit of the Jewish religion, much as, again, later on the Christians did, as Justin proudly says: 'Any good thing that has been said, belongs to us Christians.' This is apology of a lofty sort! And by it we may see how the adoption of foreign elements finally turns out to be a sign of the spiritual conquest of the world by a religious belief. In this respect late Judaism becomes, within the narrow bounds of religious culture, a parallel phenomenon, if I may say so, to Hellenism, which likewise absorbed all available foreign elements.

My colleague Professor Wernle has well said: 'Even where foreign influences undoubtedly came into play, the question remains whether we ought not to seek in the inherent action of a religion the factor which gave it the bias toward this marked accessibility to foreign influences.' As to late Judaism, this observation strikes the mark,



I think, and the proof may easily be seen in its having maintained its own individuality in spite of all these foreign influences. True, in the way of assimilation, the Jews did all that was possible; but they did not only adapt themselves to what was foreign, they adapted the foreign property to their own use: and this is the point. They did not lose themselves in foreign influences, they got the mastery of them; they remained Jews, nay they became the more so by dealing frankly with them; and what they adopted from without, only took the place, so to speak, of a gift offered by non-Jewish religions to the Jewish faith, as their tribute, which the Jews were very willing to accept: just as they liked to see in their temple the mounting flames of the sacrifice by which foreigners bowed to the God of Jerusalem. Thus, finally, the accessibility of later Judaism to foreign influences is not incompatible with its exclusiveness; moreover, their having entered in such numbers does not point, as one might think at first sight, to mere passivity, but to a very pronounced activity of Jewish religion; it is a sign, not of its weakness, but of its strength.

## 8

# SOME PROBLEMS SUGGESTED BY THE RECENT DISCOVERIES OF ARAMAIC PAPYRI AT SYENE (ASSUÂN)

BY OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE. (ABSTRACT)

THE Aramaic Papyri brought to light by recent discovery at Syene have thrown a welcome light on the obscure period 470-407 B. C. Our sources of information upon them have hitherto been (1) the undated prophecies of Malachi and those of the Trito-Isaiah, according to recent criticism (Isa. lvi-lxvi), and (2) the memoirs contained in Ezra and Nehemiah which were redacted two centuries later, i.e. 250 B. C., and of disputed historic validity. These papyri, which are in nearly every case dated, afford us a clear spot of light. We shall chiefly refer to the three papyri edited by Sachau, of which the first is most complete. It will be our endeavour to see how far the light they afford will carry us into the contemporary and earlier history of Israel.

I. The Aramaic of these documents is the biblical Aramaic. The Canaanite Hebrew was rapidly becoming obsolete as a spoken language. We may therefore accept the Revised Version rendering of *m'phōrāsh* in Neh. viii. 8, given in the margin of the Revised Version, 'and they read in the book. in the law of God *with an interpretation.*' In other



words, Aramaic was the spoken language of the ordinary Jewish exile, and Hebrew was to most of them unfamiliar. Moreover, we know that Aramaic was understood by the educated and official class in Jerusalem nearly three centuries earlier, in the days of Hezekiah, as the appeal of the Jerusalem rulers to Rabshakeh in 2 Kings xviii. 26, 'Speak to thy servants in Aramaic' (in the earlier Isaiah narrative), clearly indicates. Archaeological evidence demonstrates that as far back as the eighth century B.C.<sup>1</sup> Aramaic had become the *lingua franca* of Western Asia. The legal and commercial documents in the newly published volume by Albert Clay, of cuneiform texts from Nippur (seventh to fifth centuries), consist of tablets with dockets in Aramaic. In the light of these facts the question for Old Testament critics arises, how far are we to allow the appearance of sporadic Aramaisms to determine the lateness of a passage?

II. Some light is thrown by the papyrus (edited by Sachau) on the date of Joel. Nowack, Cornill, and Marti argue from internal indications that Joel's prophecies were composed about 400 B.C. Now at the close of these oracles we read that Egypt is to become a desolation on account of the outrages perpetrated on the Jews (iv. 19). These outrages we may surely connect with the destruction of the temple of Yahū at Yeb (Elephantine) by the Egyptian priests of the god Hnūb (Hnum), to which the letter addressed to Bagohi (lines 5-12) bears witness. This took place about 409 B.C., and confirms the views respecting the date of Joel already propounded by the above scholars.

III. The temple at Elephantine existed in the days of Cambyases, 525 B.C., as lines 13 foll. show: 'When Cambyases invaded Egypt he found that shrine built, but the shrines of the gods of Egypt they destroyed every one, while in that shrine no one injured anything whatever.' This special favour shown to the Jews by Cambyases was an inheritance from the policy of his father Cyrus, who associates his son's name with his own in the clay cylinder (lines 27 and 35) in the deference shown to Babylonian worship. This sheds a gleam of light on the historicity of Ezra, chap. i (with respect to the edict of restoration and temple rebuilding), and enhances its validity so strongly questioned by Kosters.

IV. The papyri edited by Cowley and Sayce, as well as the stateliness of the temple of Yahū at Elephantine, indicated in the Sachau papyrus (lines 10-12), point to a large and prosperous Jewish community. They were probably fairly numerous in the exile period. The *Sinim* of Isa. xlix. 12 cannot on various grounds, phonetic and historic, be identified with the Chinese. For סִינִים read סִינִים (cf. סִינִי Ezek. xxix. 10, xxx. 6), or 'inhabitants of Syene'. The reference is to

<sup>1</sup> Compare the remarks of Cowley in the Introduction to Sayce and Cowley's edition of the *Aramaic Papyri of Syene*, p. 20.



this Jewish community. Compare the other reference to the Jewish diaspora in Isa. xi. 11 foll.

V. The offerings of the temple at Elephantine, burnt offerings, meal offerings and incense (lines 20, 21), and fasting in times of sorrow, exhibit no suggestion of illegitimate forms of worship. Yahweh (Yahû) alone is worshipped. There is no mention of *kedeshim* or *kedeshoth*, or of an *Asherah*. As in the Old Testament the priests of other gods are called by the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew *kemanim* (line 5). Professor Sayce notes in his Introduction (p. 10) that the Jewish proper names are compounded with that of Yahweh as much as the names of the orthodox Jews who returned to Palestine from the captivity. They were therefore very different from the Jews settled in Migdol, Tahpanhes, and Memphis in the days of Jeremiah. These burned incense to the Queen of Heaven (Jer. xlv. 15). They had recently migrated thither, and those of the fresh migration, under Johanan ben Kareah, were joining their kinsmen in Pathros and elsewhere. The language used by the inhabitants to Jeremiah, xlv. 18 f., refers to their untoward experiences in Palestine and not in Egypt (cf. xlii. 14). The origin of the purer worship in Syene goes back to the days of Hezekiah, whose reforms in worship are reported not only in 2 Kings xviii. 4, but in xxi. 3 and xviii. 22 (a distinct source, viz. the earlier Isaiah biography). These were the influences which affected the settlement at Syene, not those of Josiah's reformation when centralization of worship was a ruling principle.

The Sachau papyrus traces the temple-structure back 120 years to the time of Cambyzes, and then states vaguely (line 13): 'already in the days of the kings of Egypt our fathers erected that temple.' The temple was probably preceded in early times by another simpler structure.

Hos. ix. 3-6 indicates that in consequence of the Assyrian invasions there was a considerable migration to Egypt where food was unclean: 'Egypt shall gather them, Memphis bury them.' In the last decade of the eighth century there was a close, friendly relation between Egypt and Hezekiah. For Hezekiah, though he ruled over a small realm, occupied an important strategic position, and held the place of suzerain to the Philistine towns who looked to him for protection. This is clearly shown by the small, misdated oracle, Isa. xiv. 28-32, and by the Taylor-cylinder of Sennacherib. In the Palestinian campaign there described (cols. 2 and 3) Hezekiah holds an important place. Even Ethiopia, in its hour of apprehension (Isa. xviii), sends its messengers in papyrus boats down the Nile to Jerusalem. The resident Israelites (Ephraimite and to a certain extent perhaps Jewish) would look to Hezekiah as their political protector.

These facts throw light on Isa. xix. 19-22, an Isaianic fragment in

the midst of a patchwork of non-Isaianic passages, beginning with the formula, 'in that day.' The passage begins: 'In that day there shall be an altar to Yahweh in the midst of the land of Egypt and a pillar beside its border unto Yahweh.' The 'border' or 'boundary' (*gebhal*) is an appropriate designation of Elephantine, a frontier fortress towards Nubia. (See note on papyrus B, line 3, p. 37, in Cowley and Sayce's edition.) The oracle prophesies future trouble and disciplinary chastisement to Egypt. Evidently Assyria, 'the rod of Yahweh's anger' (Isa. x. 5), is intended, and we know that this 'smiting' did take place in the days of Asurbanipal.

Now this is the section to which, as Josephus tells us (*Wars of Jews*, vii. 10. 2), Onias, son of Simon, appealed when he erected a temple at Heliopolis. No such passage as this could possibly have been inserted in the Jewish prophetic oracles after the exile period. Such a passage as this, which deliberately legitimizes the erection of an altar and *maṣṣebah* (pillar) in Egypt, could hardly have found a place in Jewish writings of recognized validity after the temple of Zerubbabel was built unless it had, like the documents J and E, the prestige of ancient authority and a great name.

Now in this passage and Amos v. 25 (also genuine) the expression 'slaughtered offering and meal offering' is a difficult phrase, as this distinction was post-Deuteronomic. Marti argues that in the Amos passage 'meal offerings' was added by a later gloss-writer, which is very probable. In the Isaiah passage we need have no scruple in erasing 'slaughtered offering' (*zebhal*); for the LXX read καὶ προσφορὰς θυσίας (there is no σφάγια).

When we compare the above-quoted Hosea passage we note distinct conceptions coexisting respecting Yahweh's power and sovereignty. The Hosea passage regards land outside Palestine as unclean, and sacrifices there as invalid. This is the well-known popular tradition reflected in the books of Samuel and elsewhere. The Isaiah passage reflects the teaching of Amos respecting Yahweh's universal power and sovereignty. I suggest that its application to Egypt was to the Hebrew relatively easy. In the Hosea passage Egypt does not appear to be placed on quite the same footing as Assyria. Ephraim 'returns to Egypt', out of which God had 'called His son'. Winckler's discovery of the land Muṣr south of Judah (proved by two distinct lines of evidence) originated from an extension of the Egyptian territory eastward (compare the Greek name Syria for the western extension of the Assyrian empire). Note the exceptional position of privilege assigned to Egypt in common with Edom (as compared with Ammon and Moab) in Deut. xxiii. 7 foll. (8 Heb.). Also note the relation of Abraham to Hagar the Egyptian (probably Muṣrite). So it was easy to believe that Yahweh's sway extended to Egypt. It was



peculiarly his own. He gives Egypt to Nebuchadrezzar as hire for that monarch's siege of Tyre (Ezek. xxix. 18-20). Similarly, in the Deutero-Isaiah (xliii. 3), Yahweh gives Egypt to Cyrus as his ransom for Jewish freedom.

VI. The mysterious Malachi passage (i. 10 foll.), if we follow Ewald's interpretation, receives some light from the papyri discovered at Elephantine: 'From East to West my name is great among the nations and in every spot incense is offered to my name and a pure sacrifice.' If by the term West or 'setting of the Sun' such a sanctuary as the temple at Yeb is intended, we have to assume that other shrines existed in the East, which in the future may yet be revealed by the traces discovered by the explorer.

## 9

## RELIGIOUS WISDOM AS CULTIVATED IN OLD ISRAEL IN COMMON WITH NEIGHBOURING PEOPLES

By CONRAD VON ORELLI

THE old religion of Israel, which in former times was considered to be like an oasis in the vast desert of paganism, has been shown to bear some relation to the religions of neighbouring peoples all around. The cult of Israel, as well as its civil law, its religious manners and customs, as well as its cosmogony and sacred poetry, are shown to be more or less similar to those of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Arabians, and to be connected even with Egypt.

But notwithstanding all the marks of cohesion with other nations, the Israelite genius proves to be an original one in all these spheres of religious life. The prophetic view of divine and human things assures to it a peculiarity of views and judgement which clearly distinguishes the Old Testament from every other monument of Oriental antiquity. The Law of Sinai bears a stamp of its own, while the national history, as it is reported in the canonical books, has no counterpart in the annals of other nations. The Psalms are different in spirit and religious feeling from the Babylonian prayers. And as regards the Prophets, the very representatives and promoters of religion, we vainly look for persons of equal spiritual condition and influence, though the name of *nebi'im* was common enough in Palestine, Ammon, Moab, and elsewhere. The Israelites themselves held the

firm conviction that they possessed the privilege of true divine revelation.

There is one sphere, however, which shows a more intimate connexion of their sacred books with those of foreigners. Is it not a strange phenomenon that in the poem of Job the author has chosen the masters of religious wisdom amongst a people dwelling beyond the frontier of Israel? As regards Job himself, the great hero of the poem, there may be some doubt whether he belongs to an Aramean or an Edomite tribe; but Eliphaz, the most venerable of his friends, the very pillar of patriarchal wisdom, is called a Temanite (תִּמְנִיטִי) and ascribed in this way to Edom.

Israel, we know, was well aware of its separation from Edom not only by political but also by religious boundaries. The poet himself did not forget it; he carefully avoids putting the holy name of the god of Israel, Jahveh, upon the lips of the speakers. But this does not prevent him from allowing them to discuss a problem which troubled the Israelites likewise, and to look for a solution which might be satisfactory to both parties; at all events he supposes that, to a vast extent, religious belief is the same amongst the tribes of Israel and the clans of Edom.

But this is not the only exception to the rule that the Israelites are aware of having a religion of their own. When in the book of Job Edomitic masters of religious philosophy expose their wisdom for the benefit of Hebrew readers, this may be an occasional fancy of the poet. But in the book of Proverbs we find a double statement of foreign origin comprising a considerable number of verses. In accordance with many recent scholars, I consider it to be almost certain that we should read (xxx. 1) 'The words of Agur, the son of Yakeh, the Massaite', and at the head of the following chapter (xxxi. 1), 'The words of Lemuel, king of Massa, that his mother taught him.' Since Hitzig recognized this kingdom of Massa, the existence of this people has been confirmed by cuneiform inscriptions of Tiglathpileser III and Asurbanipal, where it is mentioned as a people of Northern Arabia. We find it also in two biblical passages (Gen. xxv. 14; 1 Chron. i. 30) in the vicinity of Dumah.

This fact is very astonishing: pieces by foreign hands have been adopted by the collectors of the sacred canon. The prophecies of Balaam are of a different type, as they tend to glorify the God of Israel and his chosen people. As regards the two chapters of the Proverbs, we shall not examine now whether their present text is the work of a foreign author. The name Jahveh, which occurs here regularly, and some coincidences with well-known scriptural phrases, may prove that they have been revised by a Hebrew scholar. On the other hand the presence of Arabic style and Aramaic forms has



been traced in both chapters; and at all events the strange fact that they bear the name of foreign masters, cannot result from arbitrary invention or through a simple mistake.

According to these testimonies there can be little doubt that this sort of religious wisdom was as common in Arabia and Edomitis as in Canaan. The books of the prophets confirm this view. Obadiah and Jeremiah speak of the wisdom of Edom or Teman with such an emphasis, that this wisdom must have been the glory of Edom even in the eyes of Israel (Obadiah 8; Jeremiah xlix. 7; Baruch iii. 22 seq.). Looking at these passages we can hardly think of a science other than that in which the master of Theman excels in the book of Job. The author of this book may have idealized in some degree the religious tenor of the Edomitic speeches, but we cannot doubt that there were in that country such teachers of religion and morality as appear in his poem.

The historical books also contain some notices about the matter. We read in 1 Kings (x. 1 seq.) that Solomon received the visit of the queen of Saba, an Arabian kingdom, as she had heard of the fame of his wisdom, and wished to question him. This would have no meaning if she, in her own country, had no masters of wisdom who cultivated a similar science. And when it is stated in the same book (iv. 30), that 'Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the sons of the East and all the wisdom of Egypt,' the author's meaning must be that these peoples, the בני קדם, the nomadic tribes of the East, as well as the Egyptians, had a somewhat analogous wisdom; else it would have been impossible to compare their wise men with the King of Jerusalem. I do not venture to say in what measure it may be justified, that the Book of Proverbs bears the name of Solomon, though it is evident that he favoured in every form the contact with the culture of his neighbours. As he profited by Phœnician technical art in building his temple of Jahveh, so he may have introduced or patronized the gnomic philosophy which flourished long ago in Egypt and amongst the Beduins of the desert. If such was the case, we can understand that in old Israel this *Chokmah* was not considered to be a privilege of the people of Jahveh, though of course this wisdom was modified to a certain degree and purified by teachers who were worshippers of this God. We perceive in that case the high respect which they showed, even in later times, for the old wisdom of their neighbours, and we can easily explain that they did not despise learning from the masters of old in Edom and Arabia: at the same time they might hope to find for their own teaching intelligent hearers beyond the narrow frontier of their nation, as it is reported about Solomon.

But the spiritual character of the Old Testament—*Chokmah* itself—

finds a fuller explanation as soon as we accept that origin of Hebrew wisdom which is suggested by the notices we have collected from different parts of Hebrew literature. It is well known that the Chokmah books differ remarkably from the rest of Old Testament scripture. Not only is the name of Jahveh avoided in some of them—this may be the case in other books too—but the whole spiritual physiognomy is a different one. We find in these books no allusion to the covenant of Moses or to the great deeds of Jahveh in the history of his people which are so frequently referred to in the Psalms, or in the exhortations of the prophets. It is most striking that the special revelations to Israel are entirely ignored, not only in the poem of Job, but also in the Book of Proverbs, which consists of a collection by different authors. The soil on which this wisdom flourishes is a more extensive one; it is what we call the 'religio naturalis', the general revelation accessible to the whole of mankind. God's manifestations in the universal creation are the very territory where these masters are moving. The wonders of nature show the might and wisdom of God which surpass every human intellect. Besides, it is human life, the history of mankind, the experience of the day, where the justice and bounty of God is to be admired. Good manners in civil and family life are insisted upon without appealing to Mosaic law.

Of course this general piety, along with its maxim, 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge,' does not contradict the precepts of the sacred law, or the admonitions of the prophets. But the intelligent student of the Bible will not fail to observe that as a rule the moral level is lower in the Proverbs than in the Prophets and Psalms. In the Proverbs we find rules of life drawn rather from experience and reasonable morality than inspired by the presence of the holy God of the prophets. This difference cannot be attributed to the didactic nature of these books. Take e.g. the *Hundred Sentences of Ali*. This collection of Muhammadan proverbs certainly shows a spirit as elevated as the Koran itself; many of its sayings surpass those of Muhammad by their religious genius.

The cosmopolitan character of the books of Chokmah (Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes) has long ago been observed; but it has not yet been sufficiently explained, as I think. I cannot concur with recent scholars who attribute all these books to only one period of Judaic thinking, influenced by Greek philosophy. The practical genius of this wisdom, as well as its gnomie form, points to a Semitic origin. And literary arguments, which cannot be discussed at this moment, prove that this kind of religious philosophy, as well as the poetry of the Psalms, had been cultivated in Israel for a long period. Thus we cannot deny the astonishing fact, that simultaneously with the theocratic teaching



of priests and prophets there were teachers who professed in their schools a morality and piety of a more general character. It is not even impossible—and some notices make it probable—that the same persons could teach in both ways.

The only satisfactory solution of the problem seems to me to be found in that relation to the wisdom of other peoples which we have stated above. If from the beginning Israel felt herself indebted for this knowledge to other nations, we can easily understand that it was considered as a neutral zone, where wise men met with venerable masters of other tribes which also knew the fear of God and its enlightening power for every man.

Unfortunately we do not possess any remnants of analogous wisdom of other Semitic peoples. As regards Babylonia, I should be happy if any of my learned hearers, more deeply initiated into the secrets of cuneiform texts, would give me some specimens of a similar character. But it is well known that in Egypt this kind of teaching flourished from very early times. I only mention the papyrus *Prisse*, which contains some pages of very remote antiquity attributed to Kakimna, a governor of the third dynasty, and another one of greater extent, written by the old Ptah-hotep, a governor of the fifth dynasty. The sentences of Ani and Amenemhat show that this kind of teaching was not neglected in later generations.

If we compare the most important of these documents, the book of Ptah-hotep with our biblical Proverbs, there exists no doubt a certain spiritual affinity. The topics are a good deal the same. The Egyptian monitor warns his son against gluttony, loquacity, idleness, disobedience, proudness, evil temper, and all sorts of excesses. He recommends to him wisdom, courtesy, and devotion to his superior, justice, love of his wife, good education of his son, &c. It is true that the social scale of duties is a different one. The old Egyptian governor introduces his pupil to the diplomatic career; he initiates him into the secrets of dealing with the dignitaries of the court, and into the obligations of royal service. We are astonished to see to what a high degree from very ancient times ceremonial behaviour had developed amongst the leading class of this country. The Hebrew masters presuppose a more modest level and less ambitious aspirations for their disciples. Nevertheless precepts relating to the intercourse of subjects with the king, and even such as refer to the king himself, are by no means wanting in the Proverbs of Solomon. They occur so frequently that they form a strong argument against the post-exilic origin of the whole book.

It may be a mere play of chance that in some details Egyptian phrases touch the biblical ones very nearly. Thus we read in the introduction of the compendium of Ptah-hotep a description of the

decay of old men, which reminds us of the more detailed and almost humorous picture of the same subject in Ecclesiastes. Much more striking is a passage of the same book, where the Egyptian says: 'Wisdom is more difficult to be found than an emerald; for this is discovered by slaves in the rocks of pegmatite.' It is an allusion to the task of sifting this mineral, in which emeralds are found, a work which was done by female slaves. Who does not remember the splendid chapter of Job, where the secret place where wisdom is found is contrasted with the mines where men are digging for precious stones and metals? Such artificial mines were scarcely known in Palestine. The description seems to take its origin from the peninsula of Sinai, where the Egyptians held important mining-works from early times.

Besides, the Book of Job seems to refer to the Pyramids, the mighty grave-monuments of the kings (iii. 14). And at the end of the poem the two beasts which are cited as irrefutable proofs of the might and wisdom of God, the crocodile (livjathan), and the hippopotamus (behemoth), belong to the wonders of old Egypt.

But I should lay more stress on the mental affinity. The lessons of Kakimna, as well as those of Ptah-hotep, are not without a religious basis, notwithstanding the more worldly style of their exhortations. As Solomon considers the fear of God to be the beginning of wisdom, Ptah-hotep derives his teaching from an advice of his God, who charged him thus to make fruitful the days of his advanced age and the experiences of his long life. And more than once he appeals to God not as a special divinity of the Egyptian pantheon, but as the deity who is the highest authority for the human conscience. Thus he admonishes the mighty one: (§ 6) 'Do not strike men with terror—God will do the same with you. If a person believe that he will gain life (i.e. livelihood) in this manner, God will take the bread from his mouth. If a man look to oppress others, He will reduce him at last to impotence. Do not strike men with terror, that is the will of God.'

Elsewhere he legalizes the established order of human society in these words: (§ 7) 'He who has the means of existence may do as he pleases . . . the means of existence being in the hand of God, you cannot rebel against that.'

Or he says (cf. 12, 44), 'A good son is a gift from God, a son doing more than you have demanded of him.'

Evidently it was not a morality independent of religion that Egyptian doctors taught their pupils. Even what we should call rules of simple prudence for practical life were esteemed a venerable doctrine and one pleasing to God. On the other side these moralists did not interfere with the peculiarities of Egyptian religion, either with its mythology (it is an exception when Horos is mentioned) or with



its ceremonial duties, which take up a large portion in other books, as, for instance, in the *Book of the Dead*. In both respects the analogy with the Chokmah-books of old Israel is obvious.

As regards the rhythmic form, the oldest parts of the Book of Proverbs almost continually show the short sentence of two lines with an antithetical parallelism, as Bishop Robert Lowth called it. This is the case in x. 1-xxii. 16. In another part of the book, which is said to have been added by the men of Hezekiah as a collection of proverbs of Solomon (xxv-xxix), the 'parabolic' parallelism prevails. As the late Dr. Davidson observed, there exists really no reason for assigning a later date to this group of proverbs. Now the Egyptian moral books we have mentioned do not show this short measure of two sentences. Nevertheless I should not deny all possibility of its Egyptian origin.

But I should not like to go so far as to claim a *direct* influence of Egyptian wisdom upon Hebrew wisdom. It is much more probable that we have to accept a missing link between them. It seems to me to be the most natural solution of the question to find this missing link in the famous wisdom of Edom and its kinsmen; whom the Hebrews called *the children of the East*. These tribes had felt the influence of Egyptian culture in early days, and were in closer relation then with Israel regarding language and religion. Here might have been the home of this wisdom, whence it found its way to the people of the Bible from the time of Solomon.

At all events in post-exilic times Judaism was much less favourably disposed to such a liberal intercourse as may have taken place in former periods. After the exile, the kinsmen in Edom, Moab, &c., were perhaps more hated than the Babylonians by the devout members of the Jewish congregation. The barriers that separated them from the unclean brethren were strengthened by Esdras and Nehemiah. When the law was the prevailing religion, the old liberal notion of pious life and wisdom had to undergo a revision.

On this account it is extremely interesting to compare the Book of Proverbs with Ecclesiasticus. In this collection, which the son of Sira laid down at the beginning of the second century before Christ, we have a magazine of didactic poetry, as it may have been current in Jewish schools during the centuries after Esdras. It is no more the wide-hearted Chokmah of the Proverbs of Solomon, but the special morality of Judaism. Chokmah means no more the piety of all the children of Abram but the legal correctness of the Jewish life. The territory of wisdom is no more a neutral zone where the different members of the great Hebrew family meet together on equal terms, Edomites and Arameans or Arabians along with the sons of Jacob. In Ecclesiasticus Chokmah is the privilege of Judah, it is identified

with the special revelation of Moses and the prophets. Wisdom has its home in Jerusalem.

One of my younger friends, Dr. C. Gasser, has published a remarkable book,<sup>1</sup> in which he compares the two collections of proverbs, the canonical and the apocryphal one. He detects a deep and thorough-going difference between them, and shows that such expressions as *thorah*, *chokmah*, justice, wickedness, &c., have undergone a change of meaning in the later period. The fear of God means now merely correctness in observing the sacred law; the wise master of wisdom is nothing else than the Jewish scribe. The fact deserves consideration that the Alexandrine version of the old Book of Proverbs shows the same ideas as Ben Sira. It speaks of the *lómos*, where *thorah* had in the Hebrew text the meaning of instruction, as it is delivered to children by their father and mother. The wicked man (רשע) is translated by *áromos*, &c. And the traces of foreign origin of the last chapters are entirely effaced by the translation which has incorporated these verses into the Proverbs of Solomon himself.

The possibility that we have here two opposite spiritual currents of the last centuries B. C., a cosmopolitan and a pharisaical one, cannot be maintained, as there exists no conscious opposition between both. Ben Sira attributed the canonical Proverbs to Solomon, and did not desist from making large use of them.

I think, therefore, that Dr. Gasser is right in saying that the spiritual physiognomy of the old *Chokmah*-works is such as to separate them by a large chronological interval from the teaching of Ben Sira.

Certainly the books of which we have been speaking do not reveal the highest truths and the deepest secrets of the Old Testament religion. But they possess their special charm and religious value. The very fact that we find here not only an unconscious relation but a conscious connexion and interchange of ideas between nations, separated by different religious laws and customs, is of great importance. When from the days of the old kings rulers of different clans and tribes sat together as the friends of Job, interchanging their knowledge of old sayings and proverbs and discussing practical religious problems, was it not a prelude to future times, in which the access to the highest revelation, bestowed on Judah, was opened to all nations of the world?

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Conrad Gasser, *Das altthebräische Spruchbuch und die Sprüche Jesu Ben Sira*. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1903.



## 10

# NOTICE OF THE WRITINGS OF ABŪ 'ABDALLAH AL-ḤĀRITH B. ASAD AL-MU- ḤĀSIBĪ, THE FIRST ṢUFĪ AUTHOR

By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH. (ABSTRACT)

THIS person figures as the seventh in Ḳushairī's list of Ṣūfī saints, and is the first to whom any writings are attributed. Short biographies of him are furnished by Ḳushairī, Ibn Khallikān, Ibn al-Wardī, and others, the fullest being that by Subkī in his lists of Shāfi'ites. This last tells a story explaining the otherwise attested disapproval of Muḥāsibī by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal on the ground of professional jealousy, the latter being envious of Muḥāsibī's fame as a preacher; it also shows that the phenomenon of ecstasy was not wanting in the séances of the earliest Ṣūfis. Subkī further gives the number of Muḥāsibī's works as 200; the fullest list of titles is that furnished by the library of Abū Bakr b. Khair, which only amounts to seven. The most celebrated of these is the 'Treatise on the Observation of God's Claims', which exists in the Bodleian Library in full, and in the Berlin Library in epitome; a portion of another (on Asceticism) is preserved in Ghazālī's 'Revival of the Religious Sciences'; of another, called 'The Healing of the Heart's Disease', an account was given by Sprenger in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*. One on the Resurrection is said to exist in Paris. Another on Morals exists at Constantinople in the Keuprülū-Zadeh Library, and of this the writer possesses a copy. Some small treatises also are preserved in Berlin.

All these works are homiletic in character, none representing the metaphysical side of the author's activity, which, however, was sufficient to secure him a place in the history of the Sects of Islam, his name being associated with the Ṣifātīs, whose later representatives were the Ash'arites. From the nature of their style and contents, which display evident improvisation and various characteristics of revivalist preaching, it is reasonable to suppose that they are records of sermons actually delivered, which, if collected during a series of years, might reach the number of volumes mentioned by Subkī.

With regard to the light which they throw on the origin of Ṣūfism, it is to be noticed that these sermons show evident traces of the use of the Gospel, as indeed the work on the 'Observation of God's Claims' commences with a repetition of the Parable of the Sower, without distinct mention of its source. The Keuprülū treatise, which is against hypocrisy, might be said to be an expansion of the doctrines of the

Sermon on the Mount : and to the phraseology of the Gospels there seem to be some clear allusions : these may be due to infiltration or to actual study of the Gospels on the author's part.

With regard to the relation of Muḥāsibī to the later Ṣūfism, his language is free from the technicalities afterwards so largely employed by Ibn 'Arabī, and on the whole from those collected by Ḳushairī ; the ideas, however, embodied in the latter appear to occur. One of these is the hierarchy of saints, and the stages in the religious life, with special definitions of the virtues whereby those stages are to be attained : another the theory of ' absorption in the Deity ', for which the technical term *fanā* does not appear to occur. The asceticism recommended by Muḥāsibī differs from that preached by 'Abd al-Ḳādir, the latter being disciplinary only and temporary, whereas the former is to last through life. Like 'Abd al-Ḳādir, however, Muḥāsibī expresses shame for the Moslem Paradise ; and like Ibn 'Arabī he employs the formula 'not to think ill of God', without, however, drawing from it the same far-reaching consequences.

Finally the author of the paper collected a few historical and archaeological allusions out of the writings of Muḥāsibī, which (he thought) scarcely deserved translation, though they might, if published in the original, be of use to Moslem communities for practical purposes.

## 11

THE OLDEST PERSIAN MANUAL OF  
ṢŪFĪISM

By R. A. NICHOLSON. (ABSTRACT)

THE *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, or 'Revelation of the Mystery', was composed in the latter half of the eleventh century by 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī, a native of Ghazna, in reply to certain questions which were addressed to him by a fellow-townsmen, Abū Sa'īd al-Hujwīrī. Orientalists have long recognized the importance of this work as one of the oldest authorities for the early history of Ṣūfism, but hitherto no attempt has been made to utilize the invaluable information which may be derived from it. As regards the author we know little beyond what he tells of himself incidentally. The date of his death is given as 456 or 464 A.H., but probably he died after 465 A.H., for he seems to have survived Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, who passed away in that year. His Shaykh and model in Ṣūfism was Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Khuttālī, a pupil of Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī.



Huṣrī, who died in 371 A.H., was the sole pupil of Abū Bakr al-Shiblī, who was himself a pupil of the famous Junayd. The author also received instruction from Shaykh Abu 'l-'Abbas al-Ashqānī (Shaqānī), who based his doctrine on the theory of *fana*, or self-annihilation; and he mentions a large number of Shaykhs whom he met and conversed with in the course of his wanderings. Among many allusions to matters of autobiographical interest I can notice here only one, namely, the fact that part, at any rate, of the present work was written while the author was a captive at Lahāwūr in the district of Multān in the Punjāb. Besides the *Kashfu 'l-Maḥjūb* he composed several treatises on Ṣūfism, as well as a volume of poetry, but he complains bitterly that they were either left unread or mutilated by unscrupulous persons who passed them off as their own compositions. None of these books have come down to us.

Although he was a Sunnī in theology, al-Hujwiri, like many Ṣūfis before and after him, managed to reconcile his orthodoxy with an advanced type of mysticism, in which the theory of *fana* holds a dominant place, but he scarcely goes to such extreme lengths as would justify us in calling him a pantheist. He strenuously opposes and describes as heretical the doctrine that human personality can be merged and extinguished in the being of God. He compares annihilation in the mystic sense to burning by fire, which transmutes the quality of all things to its own quality, but leaves their essence unchanged: iron, for example, can never be converted into fire. In other points, too, such as the excitation of ecstasy by music and singing, and the use of erotic symbolism in mystical poetry, his attitude is more or less cautious. At the same time no one can read the *Kashfu 'l-Maḥjūb* without feeling that the spirit of the work is philosophical and speculative—in this respect it has a thoroughly Persian flavour—and that the Ṣūfism which it was written to elucidate is wholly incompatible with the dogmas of Islam. The author declares that his object is to set forth a complete system of Ṣūfism; not to compile sayings, but to discuss and explain doctrines. Before stating his own view, he generally examines the current opinions on the same subject and refutes them if necessary. With the help of his book it is possible to realize what were the principal questions that occupied Ṣūfī teachers and writers from the ninth to the eleventh century of the Christian era, and to see what form these questions took under the influence of contemporary thought.

The most important and interesting part of the *Kashfu 'l-Maḥjūb* is the fourteenth chapter, entitled, 'On the different doctrines of the Ṣūfī sects,' in which the author enumerates twelve mystical schools and describes the characteristic doctrine of each. Ten of the twelve, he says, are recognized to be worthy of approbation, while two are

condemned as heretical. The ten approved schools, which agree in their principles, though differing in their practice and discipline, are the following :

1. The Muḥāsibīs, whose founder was Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī of Baṣra (+243 A. H.).

2. The Qaṣṣārīs, who derive from Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣar of Nishāpūr (+271 A. H.).

3. The Ṭayfūrīs, whose name refers to the celebrated Ṣūfī pantheist, Ṭayfūr b. 'Isā b. Surūshān, commonly known as Bāyazīd of Bisṭām (+261 A. H.).

4. The Junaydis, so called after Abu 'l-Qāsim Junayd of Baghdād (+297 A. H.).

5. The Nūrīs, whose founder was Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Nūrī, also of Baghdād (+295 A. H.).

6. The Sahlīs, followers of Sahl b. 'Abdallāh of Tustar (+283 A. H.).

7. The Ḥakīmīs, who trace their origin to Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥakīm of Tirmidh (+255 A. H.).

8. The Kharrāzīs, whose founder was Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz of Baghdād (+277 or 286 A. H.).

9. The Khaffīs, who are spiritually descended from Muḥammad b. Khaffī of Shīrāz (+331 A. H.).

10. The Sayyārīs, who derive from Abu 'l-'Abbās Sayyārī of Merv (+342 A. H.).

The two heretical sects are the Ḥulūlīs and the Ḥallājīs. The Ḥulūlīs, who hold the doctrine of incarnation (*ḥulūl*), claim to derive from Abū Ḥulmān of Damascus (cf. Haarbrücker's trans. of *Shahristānī*, ii. 417); the Ḥallājīs from Fāris, a pupil of al-Ḥallāj. Fāris alleged that his doctrines were identical with those of al-Ḥallāj, but the author declares that no other pupil of al-Ḥallāj held such tenets, and that in the books composed by al-Ḥallāj there is nothing except profound theosophy.

The MUḤĀSIBĪS. The oldest of the ten orthodox schools of Sūfism, is that of Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī. According to al-Hujwīrī, the peculiarity of his doctrine consisted in his regarding *riḍā* (acquiescence in God's will) as a 'state' (*ḥāl*), not as a 'station' (*maqām*). In Sūfī phraseology, the name *maqām* is given to any one of a series of 'stations', through which the traveller on the mystic way must pass before he can attain to union with God. The first of these 'stations' is repentance (*tauba*), next comes renunciation (*zuhd*), then trust in God (*tawakkul*), and so on. They are gained by voluntary effort, and each one marks a certain degree of achievement and merit. A 'state' (*ḥāl*), on the other hand, is something that descends from God upon the heart, something that can neither be attracted nor repelled by human exertion, a heaven-sent ecstasy in which self-consciousness is lost. Muḥāsibī held that *riḍā* was not a *maqām*, but a *ḥāl*. In other words, he denied



that *riqā* could be acquired by an act of effort or volition, and asserted that it was simply and solely a gift of God. He also differed from many Ṣūfī shaykhs in maintaining that a *ḥāl* might be permanent; indeed he went so far as to say that until it becomes habitual, its owner is not worthy of the name.

The QASSĀRĪS are distinguished by the doctrine of *malāmat*; whence they are also called *Malāmatīs*. The literal meaning of *malāmat* is 'blame'. In Ṣūfism it has the signification of 'blame incurred by a holy man through his acting in a way that gives offence to people who do not understand his motives'. For example, one venerated by his neighbours and in danger of falling into the sin of spiritual pride might intentionally commit some breach of the religious law in order to turn the hearts of the people away from him. Some *Malāmatīs*, not satisfied with acting sincerely and ignoring public opinion, made a point of drawing censure upon themselves by actions which bore the appearance of evil, but were really innocent.

The ṬAYFŪRĪS and JUNAYDĪS are so called after two famous Ṣūfis who took opposite sides in the mystical movement of the third century A.H. Ṭayfūr was the personal name of Bāyazīd of Bisṭām, a Persian who seems to have been the first to give Ṣūfism a definitely pantheistic form, while Junayd stands out as the protagonist of the moderate, or at all events more discreet Ṣūfis, who profess that their religion is in perfect harmony with the Koran and Apostolic traditions. The controversy between these schools was waged over two expressions familiar to students of Moslem theosophy: 'intoxication' (*sukr*) and 'sobriety' (*ṣaḥw*). In the language of mystics, 'intoxication' denotes violent passion and longing for God, and 'sobriety' denotes the attainment of one's desire. Bāyazīd and the Ṭayfūrīs who follow him prefer the former state. They argue that 'sobriety' depends on the subsistence and equilibrium of human attributes, which are the greatest veil that can come between God and man, whereas 'intoxication' entails the destruction of these attributes and the survival of those faculties alone that are not tainted with mortality. To this the Junaydis answer that 'intoxication' is inconsistent with sanity, and that without sanity it is impossible to arrive at true comprehension of the Divine. Blindness, they urge, will never free a man from the bondage of phenomena: in order to be free, he must see things as they really are. Such vision is attainable only by the 'sober'.

The doctrine peculiarly associated with the NŪRĪS is expressed by the term *ithār*, which means literally 'preference', but in this connexion implies the preference of another's interest to one's own, and is synonymous with altruism or self-sacrifice.

The SAHLĪS laid particular stress on the spiritual warfare (*mujāhada*) with the passions by means of austerities, such as fasting and acts of

devotion, such as *dhikr*. While Sūfis in general consider that self-mortification is an indirect means of attaining contemplation (*mushāhada*), Sahl al-Tustarī held that it is the direct cause. 'You must serve God,' he said, 'before you can be united to Him: union is the immediate result of service performed with God's blessing.' Against his opponents, who pronounced union to be the fruit of Divine grace (*faql*), he appealed to the prophets, all of whom teach that mortification is obligatory. Their laws and commandments must be vain, unless mortification produces contemplation.

The doctrine of the HAKĪMĪS deals with the nature and various degrees of saintship (*wilāyat*), the validity of miracles, the distinction between the miracles of the prophets and those of the saints, &c. It is interesting to note that Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥakīm first developed the well-known Sūfī doctrine of a hierarchy of saints, on whom depends the order of the world, headed by the *Qutb* or *Ghawth*. He held that the saints are not, like the prophets, divinely protected from sin (*ma'sūm*), but that they are preserved from whatever is inconsistent with saintship, e.g. infidelity. This is the view of Muḥāsibī and Junayd. Others believe that saintship involves obedience to God (*fa'at*) and is forfeited by any one who commits a great sin.

Three sects have still to be mentioned: the Kharrāzīs, the Khaffīs, and the Sayyārīs. The special doctrine of the KHARRĀZĪS is 'Annihilation and Subsistence' (*fanā u baqā*), of the KHAFFĪS, 'Absence and Presence' (*ghaybat u ḥuḍūr*), and of the SAYYĀRĪS, 'Union and Separation' (*jam' u tafriqa*). I will conclude this summary with a brief account of the Kharrāzī doctrine, which had a far-reaching influence. Unfortunately it is not easy to disentangle the doctrine itself from the author's elucidation of it.

Al-Hujwīrī observes that Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz was the first to discourse on the theory of *fanā* and *baqā*, and that he expressed the whole of his doctrine in these two terms, which are employed by mystics to denote the perfection of saintship, in reference to those who have transcended all 'stations' and 'states', and have found the object of their search. It is a grave error to suppose that *fanā* involves annihilation of essence and personality, or that *baqā* implies any connexion between the human and Divine natures. *Fanā* and *baqā*, when predicated of us, are attributes of ourselves: *fanā* is annihilation of our thought of phenomena, and *baqā* is perpetuation of our thought of God. Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz defined *fanā* as 'dying to the sight of human abasement (*'ubūdiyya*) and living in the contemplation of Divine omnipotence (*rubūbiyya*)', i.e. the true servant of God is so lost in contemplation that he no longer attributes his actions to himself but refers them all to God.



POPULAR JUDAISM AT THE TIME OF THE  
SECOND TEMPLE IN THE LIGHT  
OF SAMARITAN TRADITIONS

BY M. GASTER. (ABSTRACT)

I WISH to attack a problem which hitherto has not to my knowledge received that full attention which its importance deserves, viz.—What were the popular beliefs and popular practices among the Jews, especially in the provinces and in the Diaspora, during the centuries before and after the destruction of the Second Temple?

There are no contemporary sources which could throw light on the religious beliefs and practices of the Jews during that period. The literary tradition of a purely Jewish character starts later, and is embodied in the Aggadic and Halachic works emanating from certain schools. These represent partly the practical and partly the theoretical developments of tradition, and allow only by inference conclusions as to the real life led by the people in Jerusalem. Little, if any, of the popular practices outside Jerusalem can be found in these writings. The same holds good for the Apocryphal literature which has recently been the object of scientific investigation. These writings emanate also mostly from scribes; their authors are learned men: they live mostly, if not exclusively, in Jerusalem. Their thoughts, conceptions, and ideas centre round the Temple and its worship, and no notice is taken, except in a few stray allusions, of the practices followed by the people at large, and by those who lived far away from Jerusalem. Each author of these Apocryphal writings seems to have a standpoint of his own; and the range of vision is limited by the fact that almost every one of the writers is engaged in polemical warfare. Each one tries to confound his neighbour and to uphold strenuously one special point of view. He may be the exponent of a school of thought or of a political religious faction. But these were not the views of the general public, of the mass of the nation, who took very little interest in the party fights going on between the various sects inside Jerusalem. This explains why there seems to be such a profound gap between the beliefs and notions contained in the Apocryphal writings and the Bible, Old Testament as well as New Testament. Many beliefs and practices in the latter appear, therefore, somewhat strange, and attempts have been made for a long time to find their origin and explanations in extraneous sources and extraneous influences. One source of information has hitherto, however, been somewhat neglected. I am alluding to the Samaritans.

## 12. *Judaism at the time of the Second Temple: Gaster 299*

Without expecting too much—for we are standing practically at the beginning of such investigations—I may say that some valuable information could be gleaned from the traditions and religious beliefs and practices of the Samaritans. First, of course, it will have to be determined whether these traditions and ideas which are found in their writings and prayers and in their daily religious practices are of a purely Jewish and pre-Christian origin, or whether the Samaritans have adopted, in addition to the Jewish tenets, also Christian and Mohammedan practices. Most of the scholars who have studied the Samaritan literature have limited their investigations almost exclusively to their Liturgy, and have accepted almost as a dogma the view that the Samaritans owe many of their ideas and beliefs to every possible source: they are said to be indebted not only to Rabbinical, late Judaism, to Karaites and the heathen inhabitants, to the Hauran, but also to Christianity, and most extensively to Arabic teachings and examples. They are not credited with having retained or having possessed anything of their own. But I have failed hitherto to find the slightest proof for these assertions. It is much more natural to assume that they have shown the same tenacity in retaining these ancient practices and beliefs which they held long before the rise of Christianity, instead of believing that they have been constantly changing at every turn in their history. If it can be shown that Islam had no effect upon their religion, and a very slight one, if any, upon their religious rites, we should feel perfectly justified in believing that they have kept themselves also independent of other influences. For the last twelve hundred years they have stood under the exclusive influence and dominion of the Mohammedan rulers, and have lived under comparative toleration; and yet, although they had adopted the Arabic language and had almost forgotten their own Samaritan and Hebrew language, still not a trace of Mohammedan influences can be shown in their Liturgy, in its system, order, and recital. I must guard against a common fallacy which considers everything written in the Arabic language or found in Mohammedan writings as if it were of Mohammedan *origin*. The Arabs have borrowed at the beginning wholesale from Jew and Christian alike, and much that is treated now as Mohammedan may be, and often is, of a different origin altogether. It is time that a 'Caveat' be uttered. The relation between Samaritans and Christians was, on the contrary, of short duration and marked by terrible persecutions on the part of the Christians, by a far bitterer feud between them than between the Samaritans and the Jews. Under such circumstances, it is not likely that the Samaritans should have adopted anything from the Christians. Their literature is anything but comprehensive. They have the Law, and some Apocrypha, but not the



Prophets. They have a primitive set of prayers—enlarged later on by a few hymns—and ample Lessons from the Law. They have one attempt at codification of the Law, made in the tenth or eleventh century, a few polemical writings and a chronicle<sup>1</sup> copied out by every subsequent writer, and going, therefore, under different names, and finally a mystical, cabalistic, magical literature, of which nothing has been known hitherto. I have been fortunate enough to secure, through the munificence of my friend Mr. S. T. Cohen, of Manchester, the chief monument of that literature, the famous Samaritan mystical ‘Shem-ha-mitfaresh’, corresponding to the Jewish ‘Shem ha-meforash’ the Ineffable Name of God, the value and importance of which for the history of Cabbalah cannot be over-rated. I am exhibiting it here, and I may say, that as far as I am aware, it is the first time for centuries that it is shown in public or seen outside of Nablus. (One copy bears the date 1342.) Markah, of the fourth century, knows already an elaborate system of mystical cabalistic teaching among the Samaritans, and uses it, and Simon Magnus carries us back to the first century.

The Samaritans thus represent at least one phase of the popular beliefs and traditions current among the Jews of that period. They claimed, in fact, to be *the true Jews*, and did not differ from the rest by any of their religious practices.

The only point of contention was that they claimed that Sichem and Mount Garizim were the spot chosen for the worship of God, pre-ordained since the Creation, and explicitly stated in the Pentateuch, and not Jerusalem or Mount Zion. But otherwise they must have shared with the rest of the Jews in what was known at that time as Judaism. They followed the popular Judaism of the provinces and of the lower classes, of the tillers of the ground from Galilee, and of the fishermen on the Lake of Tiberias, down to the gates of Jerusalem. Of course, great caution is required in sifting Samaritan traditions, but whatever recurs as a permanent factor in their religious belief and practices, and shows strong similarity to Jewish notions and to primitive Christianity, could be safely considered as a true element in helping to elucidate some of the problems of the religious life of that time.

Let me limit myself to two or three points. Firstly, what was the position of the Cohen outside the Temple? Was he a layman pure and simple, or was he entrusted with duties of a religious character outside those distinctly laid down in the Pentateuch? It seems that with the destruction of the Temple every privilege attached to the Cohen had disappeared, and the fight between the two sections, the Pharisees and Sadducees, seems to have resulted in the elimination of the Cohen from practical life. Did he, then, exercise any spiritual



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function? Was he a minister in the way in which the priest has been considered in the Temple? What part did he take in the religious life of the people in the provinces? The origin of the Presbyter (or Diaconus) and the part he took in the Service seem to be still somewhat obscure. But if we find that the Cohen exercised exactly the same priestly functions, and does still exercise them among the Samaritans, it might be inferred that he was the priest to the Jews in the provinces and in the Diaspora. The Priest or Presbyter has taken the place of the Cohen and then of the Zaken, Elder, in the new order of things. What are considered Sacraments in the Church, such as initiation, betrothal, marriage, last blessing of the dying, &c., we find to be still the exclusive function of the Cohen among the Samaritans.

Take another point. What was the old form of worship outside Jerusalem? The Papyri of Elephantine throw some light on the subject. The Jews used to have an 'altar', *not for sacrifices*, but for burning incense and reciting prayers. Did this custom prevail in the provinces and in the Diaspora? We know of the Synagogue that it was the place of assembly, where the Law was read. Jesus and the Apostles were called up to read their portion and to expound it. But what else was done, and what was the conception of the Synagogue in relation to the Temple? We find, then, among the Samaritans again the 'altar' as an essential feature of the worship, the prayer as 'the sacrifice', a certain primitive form of creed, the recital of verses from the first chapter of Genesis, selections from the rest and from the Law, and whole sections of the Bible, the priest as the appointed reader, the people merely joining in the responses, the whole service reminding one very strongly of the ancient description of the 'Maamad' or local service in the Mishna, and leading up to the Liturgy of the Church.

Turning to another set of ideas—the all-absorbing topic of the Messiah, the call of John to repentance and baptismal purification as the preliminary condition for the kingdom of heaven, the pre-ordination of the Messiah, his existence before the world, the evolution of events so arranged as to prepare for his advent, the transfiguration on the mount between Elijah and Moses—for all of these topics we find very close parallels in the Samaritan teaching of Fanuta and the Taieb, the Restorer through Repentance, the history of Moses, his pre-ordination, and the evolution of things so arranged as to coincide with his appearance as the Saviour of the world. Everything depended on that final event, on his transfiguration, and now on his expected return.

Some of the points raised, notably those bearing on the elevation of Moses to the position of Saviour and Mediator, have already been



noticed and discussed by Samaritan scholars. But they have drawn their information promiscuously and exclusively from some liturgical pieces belonging to widely different periods—fourth, eleventh, and fifteenth centuries,—and then these parallels were looked upon as proofs of Christian influences. My desire is rather to promote the study of the whole range of Samaritan literature, of their legal and ritual practices and religious beliefs as found in their books of laws and rubrics of their prayer-books; a more comprehensive and independent study of the oldest fragments of their literature and a recognition of the fact that therein may be found a new source of information about that popular Judaism which was the religion of the masses in the outlying districts of Palestine, traces of which have hitherto been found only in some of the Apocrypha of the Old and New Testaments, in Rabbinical literature and in the New Testament.

## 13

## THE ETHNOLOGY OF GALILEE

By PAUL HAUPT. (ABSTRACT)

THE city of Hamath (Assyr. *Ḥammāti*), which is repeatedly mentioned in the Old Testament as the northern boundary of Palestine, is not Hamath on the Orontes, but the ancient capital of Galilee, at the hot springs (*ḥammāt*) south of Tiberias. For *חַמַּת* we must point *חַמַּת*, and for *וּבְנֵי* (*Joshua xix. 35*) we must read *חַמַּת בְּנֵי*, 'Hot springs on the shore of the Great Harp' (plur. intens.), i.e. the Sea of Galilee.

The names which are mentioned in Numbers xxxiv. 7-11, and Ezek. xlvii. 15-20, may be explained as follows:—The 'Entrance to Hamath' is the Wady al-*Ḥammām* near Magdala; Mount Hor is the Jabal Jermak; Zedad is a corruption of Zaida = Bethsaida;<sup>1</sup> Hazar-enan is the Round Spring, twenty-five minutes north-west of Magdala; Ziphron, Sibraim, Sepharvaim, Babyl. Sabara'in, Sepharad, and Arbatta (*Arbacta*, *Arbana*, &c., for *Sarbana*, *Sabrana*)<sup>2</sup> are all corruptions of *Sippōrim*, *Sepphoris*, which appears in the Talmud as *Šippori(n)*<sup>3</sup> with *š* on account of the *r* (cf. Arab. *šifr* = Assyrian

<sup>1</sup> For *צדדה* instead of *צידה* cf. the passage at the end of the Book of Amos, where the LXX reads *יִרְשׁוּ* 'they will seek,' instead of the Masoretic *יִרְשׁוּ* 'they will inherit'.

<sup>2</sup> For the explicative *and* before *Arbana* in 1 Macc. v. 23, see Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906, p. 16, l. 10).

<sup>3</sup> The *ארכי הישנה של צפורין*, i.e. the executive committee of the old (pre-



siparru, and Jākūt's Šar'ūn = Sargon, &c.). Shepham denotes the hills (šefai'm) east of the Sea of Galilee; Ain = 'Aiūn at the south-eastern end of the Lake. Hethlon (or rather Hittalon), = Hannathon (or rather Hinnathon) = Assy. Hinnatūn, is an old name of Nazareth. Jesus' native town was called Hittalon (Swathing)<sup>1</sup> or Nazareth (Seclusion) because it was entirely shut in by hills. Berotha refers to the cisterns on the hill fifteen minutes south of Shefā 'Amr. Tamar = 'Ain Ghamr, west of Shōbak, on the road from Hebron to Elath.<sup>2</sup>

Galilee (Hamath) was conquered by Tiglath-pileser IV in 738 B.C. The Galileans were deported to Assyria. The few Jews who lived in Galilee at the time of Judas Maccabaeus were rescued by his elder brother, Simon, and transferred to Jerusalem in 164 B.C. In 103 B.C. the first Maccabean King of the Jews, Aristobulus, judaized Galilee. The descendants of the Assyrian colonists in Galilee were still called at that time Itureans, i.e. Assyrians. Similarly the Samaritans were contemptuously called Hyrcanians, i.e. northern barbarians; hence the epithet of their conqueror, John Hyrcanus.<sup>3</sup>

Many of the Assyrian colonists settled in Galilee were Aryans (Iranians). Sargon sent the Median chief Deioces, with his kinsmen, to Hamath, i.e. Galilee. The Itureans were famous archers; so were the ancient Medes. The opinion that Sargon sent 6,300 Assyrians to Hamath is due to a misinterpretation; 6,300 in Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, p. 179, l. 61, must be connected with the preceding line.

Consequently it is by no means certain that Jesus of Nazareth and His first disciples were Jews by race; they may have been Aryans. The speech of the Galileans 'bewrayed' their non-Semitic extraction (Matt. xxvi. 73); they could not distinguish the Semitic gutturals.<sup>4</sup>

Canon Cheyne remarks in his *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (col. 1631): 'Professor Percy Gardner has well said, "According to all historical probability Jesus of Nazareth was born at Nazareth."' The tradition that Jesus was a descendant of David, and was born at Bethlehem, is not original. The census referred to at the beginning of the second chapter of the third gospel took place in the year 7 A.D., i.e. at least Maccabean) Jewish congregation in Sepphoris, is mentioned in the Talmud (*Kidd.*, iv. 6).

<sup>1</sup> Swathing = enclosing, confining. Cf. εὐρήσατε βρέφος ἐσπαργανωμένον καὶ κείμενον ἐν φάρυγι (מִשְׁכַּחֲוִין אֶתֵּן עוֹלָא דְרַבִּיךְ בְּעוֹרֵינָא וּסִים בְּאֻרֵּינָא). Nazareth is swathed in a basin with a girdle of hills.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my remarks in Peiser's *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*, vol. xi, col. 238 (Berlin, May, 1908).

<sup>3</sup> See Haupt, *The Book of Esther* (Chicago, 1908), ad iii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Professor Deissmann remarked at the Berlin Congress for Historical Science (August, 1908), that the words attributed to Jesus in the New Testament showed that He spoke pure Aramaic—as though the Greek text could indicate the correct pronunciation of the Semitic gutturals, &c. !



eleven years after the Nativity. An imperial census in the kingdom of Herod would have been impossible. There was no imperial assessment until Judea had been made an imperial province. Nor would the people have been assessed at their ancestral homes. Moreover, Mary would not have been required to accompany Joseph.

Our Saviour Himself referred to the belief that the Mëssiah was to be a son of David as an opinion of the Pharisees. The later tradition, which endeavours to harmonize the life of Jesus with the alleged Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament, is a concession to Jewish expectations or prejudices. Wellhausen begins his translation of the first gospel with the third chapter, corresponding to the beginning of St. Mark. The first two chapters of the first gospel, with the Davidic genealogy of Joseph, the virgin birth, the star of Bethlehem, the wise men from the east, the flight to Egypt, the slaughter of the innocents, are not considered.

The theory that our Saviour was not a Jew by race is not new. Forty years ago the distinguished French archaeologist Emile Burnouf stated, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, tome lxxvi (August 15, 1868), that the founders of Christianity were Aryans, not Semites. I am indebted for this reference to my friend Professor Ludwig Schemann, of Freiburg i. B. I did not know Burnouf's article, nor had I read H. S. Chamberlain's book *Die Grundlagen des 19<sup>ten</sup> Jahrhunderts*. My attention was called to it after I had read a paper on the Aryan ancestry of Jesus and His first disciples at the general meeting of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, April 25, 1908. Chamberlain thinks that the Aryan elements in Galilee were due to Greek immigration during the last centuries B.C. This theory is untenable. Rudolf von Jhering says, in his *Vorgeschichte der Europäer* (quoted by Chamberlain, op. cit., p. 220): 'Dem Boden seines Volkes war Christi Lehre nicht entsprossen; das Christenthum bezeichnet im Gegentheil eine Überwindung des Judenthums; es steckt bereits bei seinem ersten Ursprung etwas vom Arier in ihm.' No one, however, has been able to prove the Aryan ancestry of Jesus and His first disciples. But as soon as we know that Hamath is the ancient capital of Galilee, and that Itureans means Assyrians, i.e. the descendants of the Assyrian colonists in northern Palestine, the whole question appears in a new light.

## MAN'S FORGIVENESS OF HIS NEIGHBOUR— A STUDY IN RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

By R. H. CHARLES

WHEN we study the teachings of the Old and New Testaments on this subject, we are at once struck with the vast ethical gulf that severs the latter from the former, not, indeed, on the question of God's forgiveness of man, but of man's forgiveness of his neighbour. In the New Testament, from the first page to the last, with the exception of certain passages in the New Testament Apocalypse, it is either explicitly stated or implicitly understood that a man can only receive the Divine forgiveness on condition that he forgives his neighbour. Indeed, in their essential aspects these two forgivenesses are one and the same. But in the Old Testament it is very different. There, indeed, God's forgiveness is granted without money and without price to the sinner who truly seeks it. But the penitent in the Old Testament could accept and enjoy the Divine pardon and yet cherish the most bitter feelings towards his own personal enemy. There are, indeed, some noble passages in the Old Testament which forbid the indulgence of personal resentment. Though few in number, and indeed but as voices crying in the wilderness, they are yet of transcendent import; for they form the beginnings of that lofty doctrine of forgiveness which reaches its highest expression in the New Testament, as we shall now proceed to show. The presence of such passages in the Old Testament is evidence that already the more spiritual minds in Judaism were working towards loftier conceptions of forgiveness than those that had prevailed in the past or were current among their contemporaries. We shall now try to show the chief steps in the advance to this more ethical attitude towards an enemy.

I. One of the oldest statements in the Bible which shows a consciousness that as a man dealt with his fellow men so God would with him, is found in Judges i. 6, 7, and the reflection on this point is, strangely enough, put in the mouth of a Canaanitish king Adoni-bezek: 'And Adoni-bezek fled, and they pursued after him and caught him, and cut off his thumbs and his great toes. And Adoni-bezek said: Threescore and ten kings having their thumbs and their great toes cut off gathered their meat under my table: as I have done, so God hath requited me.' The primitive human law of exact retaliation, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life, is here described as the law of Divine procedure. In *Exod.* xxi. 23 sqq. this law is to



be observed by the judges in Israel. In the hands of the late scribes and legalists this law was often crassly conceived, and in Jubilees and 2 Maccabees the history of the deaths of notable evildoers is often rewritten so as to furnish examples of this law of retribution. Spiritually conceived, it represents a profound religious truth enunciated repeatedly in the New Testament. But to return, this doctrine, that with what measure we mete it is measured to us again, is found in Ps. xviii. 25 sq.—

With the merciful Thou wilt show Thyself merciful . . .  
 With the pure Thou wilt show Thyself pure,  
 And with the perverse Thou wilt show Thyself froward.

II. The belief in such a connexion between a man's treatment of his neighbour and his treatment by God is sufficient to explain the use of such *negative* commands as Prov. xx. 22 :—

Say not thou, I will recompense evil :  
 Wait on the Lord and He shall save thee.

Or in Prov. xxiv. 29 :—

Say not, I will do to him as he hath done to me ;  
 I will render to the man according to his work.

These precepts are noteworthy since they are opposed to the principle of retaliation in itself, and that at a time when such a principle was universally current.

III. But there are one or two notable passages that go beyond these and contain *positive* commands that when we find our enemy in *difficulty or distress* we are to help him. Thus it is enjoined in Exod. xxiii. 4, 5 : 'If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under its burthen, and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him.'<sup>1</sup> And again in Prov. xxv. 21, 22 :—

If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat,  
 And if he be thirsty, give him water to drink ;  
 For thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head,  
 And the Lord shall reward thee.

This last noble passage, however, occurs in close proximity to a vile direction, that a man was not to rejoice over the affliction of an enemy lest God should see it and remove the affliction. And yet this base precept implies the existence of a higher one, that a man should not rejoice over a fallen enemy's misfortunes.

IV. But the Old Testament ethics reaches its highest point of development in Lev. xix. 17-18, a passage the importance of which it would be hard to exaggerate.

<sup>1</sup> These words are used simply in relation to a neighbour, not an enemy, in Deut. xxii. 1-3.

This passage runs: 'Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbour, and not bear sin because of him. Thou shalt not take vengeance nor bear grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'

Here all hatred of a brother is forbidden. In case a man's neighbour does a wrong he is to admonish him. If he has himself suffered a wrong, he is not to avenge himself on his neighbour, but to love him as himself. We have here a true foundation for subsequent ethical development on the subject of forgiveness. It is true that the sphere of the precept is limited here absolutely to Israelites or to such strangers or *gêrim* as had taken upon themselves the yoke of the Law. Neighbour here means an Israelite or Jew. Notwithstanding the passage is epoch-making, and served in some degree to fashion the highest pronouncement on forgiveness in later Judaism that we find in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs.

V. Finally, we have the notable instance of Joseph's forgiveness of his brethren; but this act of grace on Joseph's part does not seem to have impressed later Old Testament writers, or led them to urge Joseph's conduct as worthy herein of imitation.

We have now given practically all the higher teaching on forgiveness in the Old Testament; but side by side with this higher teaching there are statements of a very different character, which exhibit the unforgiving temper in various degrees of intensity. Our classification of them is logical rather than chronological.

I. In the first stage this temper manifests itself in a most unblushing and positive manner in one of the Psalms, where the righteous man prays to Yahweh to make him strong enough to pay out his enemies: 'Do thou, O Lord, have mercy upon me, and raise me up that I may requite them' (Ps. xli. 10). Side by side with this prayer we might place the unforgiving spirit of David—the man after God's own heart—when on his death-bed he charged Solomon not to let Joab's hoar head go down to the grave in peace; and commanded him to deal similarly with Shimei, though David had promised to preserve Shimei's life.

II. But this thirst for immediate personal vengeance could not, unless exceptionally, indulge itself when once order and law were established in the land. The person wronged could take to heart the words of the Deuteronomist, that God would 'avenge the blood of His servants' (xxxii. 43), for that 'Vengeance is Mine and recompense' (xxxii. 35), and so might relinquish the desire of *personally* executing the vengeance; but if so, then in many instances he prayed all the more vehemently for God to undertake the vengeance for him. Under this heading comes the most appalling exhibition of vindictiveness to be found in religious literature, i.e. the imprecatory Psalms. No



amount of explaining away or allegorizing can excise the malignant element in these productions; nor in such utterances as the cxxxviii Psalm, where the writer in his fury against Babylon declareth: 'Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the rock.' The use of such Psalms in Christian worship cannot be justified.<sup>1</sup> And yet the faithful Jew felt no hesitation in believing that God would fulfil such prayers. 'God,' he writes, 'is mine helper; the Lord is of them that uphold my soul: He shall requite *the* evil unto mine enemies,' and then closes the Psalm with the expression of sated vengeance: 'Mine eye hath seen my desire upon mine enemies' (Ps. liv. 7).

III. But as time went on the teaching of the nobler spirits began to make itself felt, and so the faithful came to feel that there was something wrong in the vindictive spirit in itself and in its joy over an enemy's misfortune. We have already given some passages attesting such a higher temper, but I shall quote still another, and that one of the most remarkable in the Old Testament for its distorted ethics:—

Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth,  
And let not thy heart be glad when he is overthrown,  
Lest the Lord see it and it displease Him,  
And he turn away His wrath from him.

(Prov. xxiv. 17, 18).<sup>2</sup>

Here we are bidden not to rejoice over an enemy's overthrow lest God see our malicious joy and so restore our enemy to prosperity. Though this precept shows an ethical advance on the part of some circle in the community—a consciousness that vindictive rejoicing over an enemy's fall is wrong—yet the temper of the man who gave this precept and of him who observed it is immeasurably lower than that of the plain man who prayed bluntly to God to raise him up that he might pay off old scores against his enemy.

From the two conflicting series of passages on forgiveness we have now dealt with, we see that there was no such thing as a prescribed and unquestioned doctrine of forgiveness in the Old Testament, and that a Jew, however he chose to act towards his personal enemy, could justify his conduct from his sacred writings. It is easy to deduce the natural consequences of such a state of ethical confusion.

When a man, and that, too, a good man, has suffered wrong, his

<sup>1</sup> Even in Judaism the Imprecatory Psalms are not used in *Public Worship*.

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested to me by a distinguished Jewish scholar that the last line here means 'turn away His wrath from him (to thee)'. But there is no ground for this interpretation in the text. If this was the meaning these two very important words 'to thee' could not be omitted. Moreover, they are not found in the Septuagint, Syriac, or Vulgate versions, nor yet in the Targum on the passage.

usual course is not to ask what is the very highest and noblest line of conduct he could take towards his enemy, but generally what is the least exacting and yet ethically acceptable amongst his orthodox contemporaries. And in a book where every jot and tittle was equally authoritative, if he chose the precepts that accorded best with his personal feelings, who could blame him? If he chose to indulge his personal animosities, he could do so without forfeiting his own self-respect or that of the religious leaders of the community; for he could support his action by sanctions drawn from sacred Psalmist and sainted hero. It is true, indeed, that if he were an exceptionally spiritually minded man he could not fail to recognize the fact that there were a few Old Testament passages that conflicted with his natural feelings; and if he were an exceptionally good man, he might forgo his desire of vengeance; as no doubt many an Israelite did, and render actual positive help to a Jewish enemy in distress. But to good Israelites generally such isolated precepts were only counsels of perfection, and their fulfilment could not be held necessary to salvation, nor could they be said to possess any higher objective authority than those precepts and examples that conflicted with them in the same sacred books. With these isolated teachings, which represent only the highest the Old Testament was striving towards, let us compare a few of those which are characteristic of and central in the New Testament.

'Forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors. . . . For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you. But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive you' (Matt. vi. 12, 14, 15).

'Whosoever ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any one, that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive your trespasses' (Mark xi. 25, 26).

'How often shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him? Until seven times? Jesus saith unto him: I say not unto thee Until seven times; but Until seventy times seven' (Matt. xviii. 21, 22).

'If thy brother sin against thee, go and show him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother' (Matt. xviii. 15).

'If thy brother sin, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him. And if he sin against thee seven times in a day, and seven times turn again to thee, saying, I repent, thou shalt forgive him' (Luke xvii. 3, 4).

'Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and railing be put away from you, with all malice: and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God also in Christ forgave you' (Eph. iv. 31, 2).



'Thou hast heard that it was said: Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you; that ye may be the sons of your Father which is in heaven; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust' (Matt. v. 43-45).

Let us now contrast in a few words the teaching of the Old and New Testaments, and herein accept only that which is highest in the former. First, whereas the Old Testament in a few passages denounces the cherishing or manifestation of *personal* resentment against a fellow countryman, the New Testament requires universally the annihilation of the passion itself as regards fellow countrymen *and strangers*. Again, while in two or more passages the Old Testament inculcates that a man should do positive kindness to a hostile fellow countryman *when in distress*, the New Testament everywhere explicitly and implicitly requires him to render such services whether the wrongdoer be Christian or non-Christian, prosperous or the reverse.

We have now before us the startling contrast which the teachings on forgiveness in the Old and New Testaments present. How are we to explain it? In the past some scholars have ignored the question, while others have regarded the New Testament doctrine of forgiveness as a wholly original contribution of Christianity. But such a view is no longer possible, now that recent research has brought to light the evidence of the Apocryphal books on this and other New Testament subjects.

A study of the literature that comes between the Old and New Testaments shows that there was a steady development in every department of religious thought in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. This fact has already been fully recognized in the department of eschatology. And on the doctrine of forgiveness new light has come through a critical study of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. However, before we discuss the bearing of this work on the development of this doctrine, we must deal with a noteworthy section in Sirach xxvii. 30 to xxviii. 7, which attests some advance on the Old Testament doctrine and yet one not so advanced as that in the Testaments. In xxviii. 3-5 Sirach teaches the duty of forgiveness, but in the main as a measure of prudence. Forgiveness is befitting the frailty of sinful man, he urges—

Man cherisheth anger against a man,  
And doth he seek healing from the Lord?  
Upon a man like himself he hath no mercy,  
And doth he make supplication for his own sins?  
He being flesh nourisheth wrath:  
Who shall make atonement for his sins? (xxviii. 3-5.)

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This advice is good, but strikes no very lofty note. Verses 1 and 2 are, however, some advance on Old Testament doctrine.

He that taketh vengeance shall find vengeance from the Lord,  
And He will assuredly take account of his sins.  
Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done unto thee,  
And then when thou prayest thy sins shall be loosed. . . .<sup>1</sup>  
Remember thy last end and cease from enmity,  
. . . And be not wroth with thy neighbour.

Here the doctrine of divine retribution makes more explicit the teaching of the Psalmist :—

With the merciful thou shalt show thyself merciful.

Moreover, it is now clearly implied that forgiveness is better in itself than vengeance; and that a man should forgo wrath against his neighbour, for that the Jew who forgives his neighbour is forgiven of God. The recurrence of this teaching in later purely Jewish sources confirms the genuineness of the passage in Sirach, and proves that Jewish thought on the subject of forgiveness was developing on the highest lines laid down in the Old Testament. We might here quote some very fine sayings on this subject from the Talmud. 'If a friend be in need of aid to unload a burden, and an enemy to help him to load, one is commanded to help his enemy in order to overcome his evil inclination' (B.M. 32).

Again, 'Be of the persecuted, not of the persecutors' (B.Q. 93 b). And again, 'Who is strong? He who turns an enemy into a friend' (Ab. R.N. xxiii).

These sayings belong to a much later period than that we are dealing with. They are, however, valuable, as we have already observed, as evidence that Jewish sages were developing the best elements of the Old Testament and advancing to conceptions of forgiveness that would have been unintelligible to most Old Testament saints.

Before we leave Sirach we might remark that on the whole we must regard this section on forgiveness as enforcing the wisdom or prudence of forgiveness, if we are to interpret it in character with the practically universal tone of that author. Notwithstanding it is some advance on Old Testament teaching, and forms in a slight degree a preparatory stage for that of the New Testament. That Judaism after the rise of Christianity did not stop at this immature stage I have already shown. It must be admitted, however, that forgiveness is only incidentally dealt with in Talmudic writings, and is not made the central doctrine of the religious life as it is in the New Testament. On the other hand, there is a genuine Jewish work of the second cen-

<sup>1</sup> This furnishes an interesting anticipation of Mark xi. 25: 'When ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any one; that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive your trespasses.'



tury B.C. in which a doctrine of forgiveness is taught that infinitely transcends the teaching of Sirach, and is no less noble than that of the New Testament. Moreover, this doctrine of forgiveness does not stand as an isolated glory in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs as in other Jewish writings, but is in keeping with the entire ethical character of that remarkable book, which proclaims in an ethical setting that God created man in His own image, that the law was given to lighten every man, that salvation was for all mankind, and that a man should love both God and his neighbour.

Let us now turn to this book and to the section in it which formulates the most remarkable statement in pre-Christian Judaism on the subject of forgiveness.

Test. Gad vi. 3. 'Love ye one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, cast forth the poison of hate and speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he confess and repent, forgive him. 4. But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee he take to swearing, and so thou sin doubly. 6. And though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame when reproved, give over reproving him. For he who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee: yea, he may also honour and be at peace with thee. 7. But if he be shameless and persist in his wrongdoing, even so forgive him from the heart, and leave to God the avenging.'

These verses show a wonderful insight into the true psychology of the question. So perfect are the parallels in thought and diction between these verses and Luke xvii. 3, Matt. xviii, 15, 35, that we must assume our Lord's acquaintance with them. The meaning of forgiveness in both cases is the highest and noblest known to us, namely, the restoring the offender to communion with us, which he had forfeited through his offence. And this is likewise the essence of the Divine forgiveness—God's restoration of the sinner to communion with Him, a communion from which his sin had banished him. But our author shows that it is not always possible for the offended man to compass such a perfect relation with the offender, and yet that the offended, however the offender may act, can always practise forgiveness in a very real though limited sense. He can get rid of the feeling of personal wrong, and take up a right and sympathetic attitude to the offender. Thus forgiveness in this sense is synonymous with banishing the feeling of personal resentment, which arises naturally within us when we suffer wrong, and which, if indulged, leads to hate. When we have achieved this right attitude towards the offender, the way is open for his return to a right relation with us. Moreover, so far as we attain this right attitude, we reflect the attitude of God Himself to His erring children.

This is the first and essential duty in all true forgiveness, and it is often all that a man can compass; and apparently the Divine forgiveness has analogous limitations—at all events, within the sphere of the present life.

Returning now to our text, we can better appreciate the thought of our author. If a man does you a wrong, you are first of all to get rid of the feeling of resentment and then to speak gently to him about his offence. If he admit his offence and repent, you are to forgive him. But if he refuse to admit his offence, there is one thing you must not do: you must not lose your temper lest he get infected by your angry feelings and in addition to his wronging he take to cursing you as well, and thus you become guilty of a double sin—his unbridled passion and his aggravated guilt. In such a case, therefore, you must refrain from further reproof; for one of two things will take place. The offender, though outwardly denying his guilt, will, when he is reprovèd, feel a sense of shame or he will not. If he feels a sense of shame, he may repent and honour you and be at peace with you. But if he have no sense of shame and persist in his wrong attitude to you, he must in that case be left to God.

It would be hard to exaggerate the importance of this passage. It proves that in Galilee, the home of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs and of other apocalyptic writings, there was a deep spiritual religious life, which having assimilated the highest teaching of the Old Testament on forgiveness, developed and consolidated it into a clear, consistent doctrine that could neither be ignored nor misunderstood by spiritually-minded men. This religious development appears to have flourished mainly in Galilee. The section on forgiveness in Sirach is little better than a backwater from the main current of this development, and is of importance as showing that even the Sadducean priest and cultured man of the world could not wholly escape the influence of this bounding spiritual life that had its home in Galilee.

It is further significant that it was not from Judea, the stronghold of Pharisaic legalism, but from Galilee, the land of the religious mystic and ethical eschatologist, that Christ and eleven of His apostles derived their origin and their religious culture. Christ's twelfth apostle was from Judea.

We shall not be surprised, therefore, that when we come to the Sermon on the Mount we find the teaching of the Testaments is accepted—accepted and yet lifted into a higher plane, and the doctrine of forgiveness carried to its final stage of development. We are to cherish the spirit of forgiveness towards those that have wronged us, for two reasons. First, because such is and *always* has been God's spirit towards man; and secondly, because such must be our spirit



if we are truly to be His sons. By having God's spirit we show our kinship with God. 'Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you, that so you may be sons of your Father in heaven; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth His rain on the just and on the unjust.' And this forgiveness He has proclaimed through His Son, as St. Paul teaches: 'Forgiving one another, even as God in Christ hath forgiven you.'

Thus divine and human forgiveness, being the same in kind though differing in degree, are linked indissolubly together, and in the heart of the prayer given for the use of all men are set the words which own this transcendent duty, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.' The man who forgives his enemy is so far forgiven of God, and has therein, whatever his Church may be, shown his essential kinship with God.

## 15

## SURVIVALS OF HINDUISM AMONG THE MUHAMMADANS OF INDIA

BY T. W. ARNOLD

IN recent years the study of provincial peculiarities in Islam, of deviations from the orthodox type as laid down in authoritative creeds and the writings of professed theologians, has been pursued with very valuable results. Survivals of earlier beliefs and religious observances among the present-day Muslims of Syria, Algeria, Madagascar, the Dutch East Indies and other parts of the Muhammadan world, have been traced up to their source in the cults of these countries before the advent of Islam; shrines of Muslim saints have been identified with the local centres of an earlier worship, notably in those parts of Central Asia where Islam has been adopted by a population originally Buddhist. The study of the customary law prevailing in various parts of the Muslim world has also been fruitful in emphasizing the diversities that exist within the pale of Islam. Scholars have noted those local peculiarities of belief and practice which keep alive among the faithful cultural characteristics, entirely opposed to the teachings of theologians, and condemned by the general body of the orthodox.

It is proposed in what follows to give some illustrations of similar divergences from the orthodox type, to be observed among the Muhammadans of British India.

As is well known, the Muhammadan population in India falls into two main divisions—(1) the indigenous converts and their descendants, and (2) the descendants of the Muhammadan invaders and settlers—from the Arab conquerors of Sind in the first century of the Hijrah to the more peaceful immigrants of modern times. For nearly thirteen centuries there have been almost uninterrupted additions to this foreign element in the population of India, adventurers and soldiers of fortune, exiles fleeing from oppression in their own land, scholars and men of learning seeking the patronage of the Muhammadan courts. Of these men and their descendants I do not propose to say much. To a very considerable extent they have upheld the purity of Muslim faith and practice; from them, for the most part, have sprung the theologians and leaders of orthodox opinion in Muslim India.

But, on the other hand, there has been manifest—more in some communities than in others, more among families long settled in the country than among recent arrivals—a certain approximation to Hindu customs and modes of life. The institution of caste especially has profoundly influenced the organization of Muslim society. Racial distinctions such as those of Sayyid, Mughal, Pathan, &c., are often spoken of by Muhammadans as constituting their *caste*; and though the same rigidity and restrictions do not prevail among these groups of foreign origin as are found in the indigenous Hindu castes, yet Sayyid families in India are often as watchful as Brahmans for the purity of their blood, and as strictly exclude intermarriage with outsiders. Long residence in the midst of a Hindu community has been known to cause Muhammadans of Afghan descent to so far forget their origin as to refuse to eat beef; and similar examples might be quoted of the adoption by these foreign immigrants of the religious prejudices of their Hindu neighbours.

But I propose here rather to speak of those non-Muslim characteristics that are to be found among the indigenous Muhammadan population—among the converts and the descendants of converts. The reception of Islam by the Indian peoples who adopted it, has expressed itself in very different forms in diverse parts of the country. Some converts have become wholly Muhammadanized, and have allowed none to outstrip them in devotion to their new faith and a scrupulous adherence to its precepts and ordinances. Such zealots try to conceal the fact of their heathen origin and claim relationship with the older races of the Muslim world, e.g. Rajputs will sometimes call themselves Quraishi or Pathan; and a rise in social scale has so often been accompanied with the honorific title of Sayyid, as to give rise to the familiar proverb, 'Last year I was a weaver; this year I am a Shaikh; next year, if prices rise, I shall be a Sayyid.'



Some of the most famous Muslim theologians in India and heads of religious communities have been of native origin. This whole-hearted acceptance of the new religion has not been confined to individuals, but there are whole communities of converts, such as the Mappillas of Malabar, who are distinguished for their fidelity to the ordinances of their faith and their knowledge and observance of its rites and laws. On the other hand, there are some communities of Hindu origin which have not succeeded in so completely severing themselves from their old associations. However much they may conform in matters of religious observance, they still refuse to abandon the social customs and tribal laws that they share with their Hindu fellow tribesmen, though these customs are in conflict with the prescriptions of the Muslim *شريعة*. This is notably the case with the Muhammadans of the Panjab. Although this province has been the highway for the Muhammadan invaders since the eleventh century, and has been continuously under Muslim influences for the last seven centuries, the Muhammadan law relating to marriage and inheritance—administered to this day in the law courts in other parts of Muslim India—is here practically a dead letter. The customs (*عادات*) of the Hindu tribe from which they derive their origin take the place of the ordinances of the law of Islam. Thus among some of the Muhammadans of the Panjab the daughter gets no share in the inheritance of her father, instead of the half of the share of a son allowed her by Muhammadan law; nor does a widow receive any share when she has sons. The giving of a dower is practically unknown, and a wife can be divorced only for adultery; and intermarriage outside the tribe or those few tribes with whom intermarriage is authorized by custom, is practically unknown—so strong is the public opinion of the community against it. Similarly, in other indigenous Muslim communities the Hindu laws of succession are still observed, and the daughters and sisters are excluded from all share in the inheritance. The Hindu prejudice against the re-marriage of widows operates also among the indigenous Muhammadans of Bengal, where (in spite of the orthodox opposition to this prejudice) one-sixth of the Muslim women remain widows.

By their adherence to these institutions of their Hindu ancestors, such Muhammadans reject some of the fundamental institutions of Muslim society. In other parts of the Muhammadan world, e.g. Algeria, Sumatra, and elsewhere, the Muhammadan law has equally failed to take the place of the old tribal customs. But what makes these divergences from the orthodox Muslim type, among such communities in India as the Muhammadan Jats and Rajputs, the more significant, is the fact that they link these followers of the Prophet with large and closely organized Hindu tribes, whose faith and ideals of life have never been touched by Muslim influences, and whose

opposition to the spread of Muhammadan conquest has been formidable and persistent. Thus, for example, in the Eastern Panjab the Musalman Rajput, Gujar or Jat differs in slight respects only from his Hindu fellow tribesmen. Almost the only difference between them is, that the Muhammadan clips the edge of his moustache, repeats the Muslim creed, and adds the Muhammadan marriage rite to the Hindu ceremony; for he retains the old Hindu regulations of marriage and inheritance, submits to the same tribal restrictions, and preserves unaltered the social customs of the clan. This pride of race has in many cases prevented the Muhammadan converts from the higher castes, such as the Rajputs, from entirely severing their connexion with their Hindu caste-fellows; they still boast of their descent from Hindu heroes and kings and exhibit many of the characteristics of a *Shu'biyyah* movement of an Indian type. So close have their relations with their Hindu brethren remained that in recent times, since the actively proselytizing *Arya Samāj* movement has begun to welcome back into Hinduism Muhammadan converts, there have been several cases of Rajput Muhammadans being again received into full fellowship with their Hindu caste-fellows and thereby breaking altogether the slender ties that had bound them to Islam.

When we pass from the consideration of tribal and social customs to practices of the distinctively religious life, we find still more remarkable deviations from Muslim orthodoxy. Many of the Muhammadan Rajputs employ Brahmans at their marriages and maintain *purohitas* (or family priests) to read *mantras* on solemn occasions. In most parts of India there may be found instances of Brahmans taking a part in Muhammadan weddings, either openly, as in Rajputana, where the Brahman officiates side by side with the *mulla*, or secretly, in districts where orthodox influences are stronger. Sometimes the Hindu rite precedes and the *nikah* follows; e.g. the Pinjārās, or cotton-cleaners, of the Seoni district in the Central Provinces, at their marriages first perform the *bhānwar* ceremony of walking round the sacred fire, and afterwards the *nikah* before the Qāḍī; but they often go through the first ceremony secretly so that the Qāḍī may not come to know of it.

It is among the Muslim converts from the lower Hindu castes that the most remarkable instances of the survival of Hindu practices are to be found. Whatever the means of conversion may have been, it is certain that among some of these lower sections of the population—ignorant and unlettered—the change effected was very slight. It would seem that they were ill instructed in the tenets of their new religion from the very beginning, and have always remained so. Retaining the peculiar social characteristic of their old faith—that



exclusiveness of caste which makes the communal life of each section of the Hindu community a life and an organization apart—they have kept themselves shut away from foreign influences, even those influences which in most Muslim lands have tended to bring about a uniformity in the life and thought of the faithful.

The divisions of the Hindu caste system often correspond to occupations, and the converts in passing over to Islam, while retaining the same occupation, are often found to differ but little from their old Hindu caste-fellows. Thus e.g. in Western India, there are Muhammadan cotton-cleaners, stone-masons, bricklayers, gardeners, butchers and others, descendants of converts from Hinduism, who scrupulously avoid eating or even touching beef, and openly worship and offer vows to Hindu gods; they wear the Hindu dress—and this in a country where distinctions of creed usually express themselves in some characteristically different costume. They seldom visit a mosque, and seldom perform any Muslim rite, with the exception of circumcision. Most of them believe in the goddess Satvāl, who is supposed to register the destiny of a child on the sixth night after birth; in the goddess Mariāl (or Mother Death), who is worshipped to save them from cholera; in Mahāsōba, the guardian deity of the field, to whom most husbandmen offer a fowl or a goat, at harvest time or when after the breaking of the rains the new ploughing season begins. Some of the Muhammadan Piṇḍārās—the descendants of those freebooters whose predatory incursions in the eighteenth century made their name dreaded throughout Western India—who now follow the peaceful occupation of grass-cutters, have a special devotion to the goddess Yalammā; the Piṇḍārās of the Bijapūr district, who are said to be Sunnis of the Ḥanafī school, have built a temple in her honour. There are Muhammadan *dhobis* or washermen who offer vows to Varuṇa, as the water-god. The worship of Sitalā, the dreaded goddess of small-pox, is widespread among the lower middle classes all over India; her cult is kept up especially by women; and in the villages of the Eastern Panjāb, for example, a Muhammadan mother who had not sacrificed to Sitalā would feel that she had wantonly endangered the life of her child.

In Bengal there are even Muhammadans who join in the worship of the Sun and offer libations like Hindus. The Bengali Hindus and Muhammadans not unfrequently meet at the same shrine, invoking the same object of worship, though under different names: thus the Satya Narain of the Hindu is the Satya Pir of the Bengali Musalman. In the Sonthal Parganahs Muhammadans are often seen carrying sacred water to the shrine of Baidyanāth, and, as they may not enter the shrine, pouring it as a libation on the outside verandah. Muhammadan cultivators also make offerings to the Grāmya Devatā or

tutelary deity of the village, before sowing or transplanting rice seedlings. Similar practices may be observed in other parts of Muslim India. When the Muhammadan Meos dig a well, they first erect a *chabutra* or platform for the worship of Bhairon or Hanumān. In Kāmṛūp, in Assam, there are Musalmans who take a chief part in the *pūja* offered to Bishahari, the goddess of snakes. In the Madras Presidency Muhammadan women of the lower classes break coco-nuts at Hindu temples in fulfilment of vows.

This worship of Hindu gods and godlings is open or secret according to the strength or weakness of the orthodox Muslim feeling in the community concerned. In Berar, for example, some Deshmukhs and Deshpandias profess Islam in public, but employ Brahmans in secret to worship their old tutelary deities. In districts far removed from centres of Muslim culture, such survivals of the older cult are comprehensible, but it is strange to learn that in a Muhammadan village in Hissār—a district not many miles from Delhi—the headmen of the village were once discovered by an English official rubbing oil over an idol, while a Brahman read *mantras*; they explained that their *mulla* had lately visited them and had been very angry on seeing the idol and had made them bury it; now that the *mulla* had gone, they were afraid of the anger of the god and were endeavouring to atone for the insult offered to him.

It is not surprising to find Muhammadans with such strong leanings towards Hinduism taking part publicly in Hindu festivals; e.g. the Muhammadan *pakhālis* (or water-carriers) of the Bombay Presidency, on Dasahrā, the festival of the autumn equinox, deck with flowers the bullocks that carry their leathern water-bags, paint them yellow and green, and parade them through the streets along with the bullocks of the Hindus. In Bengal the low-caste Muhammadans regularly join in the Dūrgā Pūja and buy new clothes for the festival like the Hindus. In parts of the Bombay Presidency there are Muhammadans who take part in all the Hindu festivals. The Meos consider Holi, the festival of the spring equinox, to be as important as any of the Muslim festivals, and celebrate also the Hindu festivals of Janamashtami, Dasahrā and Dīwālī.

Besides keeping Hindu festivals, some of the low-caste Muhammadans have transferred Hindu religious usages into the festivals of Islam. The *thavāis* of Northern India—a caste of masons and bricklayers—worship their tools at the 'Id al-fiṭr, making offerings of sweetmeats to them—herein imitating the observance of the Hindu craftsman who worships the implements of his toil at the Dasahrā festival. The characteristic feature of the Śrāddha, of offering to deceased ancestors cakes of flour, has been adopted by many of the Bengali Musalmans as an observance on the Shab-i-Barāt, the night



on which God is believed to register the names of all those who are to be born or die in the coming year.

It need hardly be said that the Muhammadans who practise these rites are profoundly ignorant of the tenets of their own religion. Sometimes the rite of circumcision is the only ceremony of Islam that they practise; and there are even cases where their knowledge of religious doctrine does not even extend to the few words of the Muslim creed. Perhaps the lowest point of ignorance is reached by the Muhammadan peasantry of the Assam valley, some of whom have never heard of Muhammad; others regard him as a personage corresponding in their system of religion to the Rāma or Lakshmaṇa of the Hindus; while some of the better educated among them explain that Muhammad is their chief *pīr*, the minor saints being named Hoji (i.e. حاجي), Ghoji (i.e. غافي), Auliyā, and Ambiyā.

These instances of the survival of Hindu religious usages among the Indian Muslims are but a few of those that have been recorded by observers, and no attempt has been made in the present paper at a complete enumeration. I have also omitted all reference to local continuity of cult, where e.g. a mosque has replaced a Hindu temple or a Muslim saint has succeeded to a Hindu deity.

The examples I have given are enough to show the remarkable persistence of Hindu tribal custom and religious beliefs and observances in a religious system so entirely opposed to them as Islam. The existence of such practices is an abiding source of scandal to the orthodox, and protests are not infrequent; missions are often held by zealous *mullās* who denounce such idolatrous practices. It should be noted that these practices are often confined to small groups of persons, and are mostly to be found in sections of the Muslim population that are little accessible to the influences of religious literature and the teachings of the learned, in country districts rather than in towns, among depressed sections of the population, the followers of mean callings and occupations that are held to be degrading. The social inferiority to which Hindu feeling condemns such persons tends to keep them untouched by many of the sentiments that animate the rest of the community. It is among corresponding sections of the Christian population of Europe that one naturally looks for survivals of an earlier cult; and it is owing to the study of Islam having been so long confined to written documents, that these divergences in Muslim practice have only come to be studied in recent years.



## BAHAISM: ITS ETHICAL AND SOCIAL TEACHINGS

BY MISS E. ROSENBERG. (ABSTRACT)

'THE Divine Manifestations are sent and manifested to train the souls of men in such wise that the divine qualities may overcome the animal imperfections, and that the heavenly light may shine universally.'

These are the words of Abdul Baha, the eldest son of the great founder of this faith, Baha u'llah, to whom was entrusted the charge of establishing and carrying on his father's teaching. Baha u'llah in his writings puts forward the great claim to be a Universal Manifestation of God—a universal teacher—appealing not more especially to the East than to the West, but equally to the whole world of mankind; and Bahaism possesses for us one unique point of interest in the fact that it is a great world-religion which has taken its rise in our own era. This great movement was started in 1844, when the young Ali Mohammad, known as the Bab, first declared his mission to his countrymen in Persia; and for a brief period of six years, which ended with his martyrdom, devoted his life to teaching the true meaning of religion. With him started that movement of living reform, elaborated and completed by the teachings of Baha u'llah and his son Abdul Baha, of which we are now witnessing the effect in the wonderful awakening now taking place in that country. Had the inspiration of this religious movement been confined to the teaching of the Bab, it is quite possible that it would have effected merely a reformation within the religion of Islam. But the Bab's teachings and prophetic utterances were largely directed towards the preparation of the minds of his hearers for the advent of a far greater teacher than himself, who would shortly appear. These predictions were realized in the declaration of his mission by Baha u'llah, nineteen years after the beginning of the movement inaugurated by the Bab. In his hands the teaching became world-wide in its appeal. At the present time nearly one-third of the people of Persia are followers of Bahaism, and in the United States of America its adherents may be counted by thousands. At Chicago the site has been purchased, and the preliminary steps taken, for the erection of the first house of worship for the Bahais of America. This is not intended to be a church, as we understand it, but a place of meeting which will be used as a spiritual



and educational centre. Actually the first building of this kind to be erected, is now being completed at Ishkabad in Russian Turkestan. In Europe there are groups of Bahais at Stuttgart, Paris, London, &c., &c. Bahaim is also beginning to spread amongst the natives of India and Burmah, where its teachings are enthusiastically adopted by its adherents, as a means of establishing real unity and brotherhood amongst the numerous races and creeds of those countries.

Most thinkers acknowledge this present time in which we are now living to be a period of great spiritual unrest, of deep searching after truth, and of intense desire for a restatement of the fundamental realities of religion, in terms harmonizing with the needs and aspirations of our particular age. Baha u'llah claims to have answered this need, and I wish to try to indicate as briefly as possible a few of the ways in which he has done this.

Baha u'llah's teaching is intensely practical. He says that no longer will mere words and talk about religion be accepted by the divine Assayer, but only true and righteous deeds. He has pointed out to his followers certain rules of conduct, certain acts that they must do, if they wish to learn from him. He says that work of any kind done in a faithful spirit of service is accepted before God as an act of worship, and that the first duty of a man is rightly to fulfil his part in the world and to the whole of society. Therefore it is enjoined upon all Bahais that they must have a definite employment, that is, an art, trade or profession of some kind, which they must practise for their own benefit and that of other men. Also, he teaches that one of the greatest works a man or woman can do, is to bring up a family of rightly trained and educated children, fitted to carry on the upward evolution of the race. To this end he makes it obligatory on all his followers to provide the best possible education that can be obtained for their children, both boys and girls equally. In this connexion he uses these beautiful words: 'He that educateth a child shall be to me as if he educated my own son,' and he enacts that special honour shall be rendered and a special provision shall be made for all teachers and educators.

Baha u'llah strictly forbids mendicancy, but at the same time directs that the community of believers must provide work for all who need it.

The care of the sick and disabled not otherwise provided for, and for children and widows who are left without means of support, also falls upon the general community. The funds for these purposes are to be supplied by proportionate contributions from all the Bahais and are to be administered by the elected councils called Houses of Justice.

It is directed that each body or community of believers is to elect

a council called Beit-ul-Adl or House of Justice, from among those of its members who are most respected for their upright life, good character, and intelligence. There is also to be established a General House of Justice for each nation, and besides this a Universal House of Justice, consisting of members elected to represent every nation, which will form a kind of permanent board of arbitration and conciliation to which all international disagreements and difficulties are to be submitted, and whose decisions must be accepted by all Baháís as final and authoritative. Baha u'llah enjoined that there should be no special class of priests, or clergy, set apart from the rest of the people for the purpose of teaching spiritual truths. This duty must be undertaken by those who are pre-eminently fitted for it, by their character and learning; they are to receive no payment or salary, but must earn their own support in the same way as the rest of the Baháís. Also the perfect civil and religious equality of women with men is asserted in the clearest possible manner.

He teaches his followers that the first necessity for them is to labour to establish Universal Peace, to abolish war and to associate with men of every race and religion in the spirit of true brotherhood, love and sympathy, and to acknowledge all men as seekers of the One Truth.

The greatest stress is laid upon this, and it may be considered as one of the fundamental bases of his teaching.

All prophets and religious teachers of the past are to be acknowledged as from God; but, as the circumstances of every age are different, therefore it becomes necessary that from time to time a new teacher or prophet should appear, who can re-formulate the truth of the One Religion in a way which suits the needs of that age or period.

There are many other aspects of Baha u'llah's writings which it would be most interesting to analyse, but I must confine myself to saying that his Spiritual teachings are of the widest and most universal character and are not confined merely to directions concerning conduct and morals.

Baha u'llah's mission lasted forty years, and during his lifetime he wrote an immense number of short epistles, treatises, and books, some of them containing practical advice and directions, others of a purely mystical and spiritual nature; several of these have already been translated into most European languages as well as English. From some of them I will quote a few passages, showing far better than any words of mine can do, the gist and scope of these writings.

Religion is the greatest instrument for the order of the world and the tranquillity of all existing beings.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Religion is the necessary connexion which emanates from the

<sup>1</sup> From *The Words of Paradise*, Baha u'llah.



reality of things; and as the Universal Manifestations of God are aware of the mysteries of beings, therefore they understand this essential connexion, and by their knowledge establish the Law of God.<sup>1</sup>

'In every country or government where any of this community reside, they must behave towards that government with faithfulness, trustfulness, and truthfulness.'<sup>2</sup>

'Members of the House of Justice must promote "The Most Great Peace" in order that the world may be freed from onerous expenditure. This matter is obligatory and indispensable, for warfare and conflict are the foundation of trouble and distress.'<sup>3</sup>

'Blessed is the prince who succours a captive, the rich one who favours the needy, the just man who assures the right of the wronged one from the oppressor, and the trustee who performs what he is commanded by the Pre-existent Commander.'<sup>4</sup>

'The light of men is justice, quench it not with the contrary winds of oppression and tyranny.'<sup>5</sup>

'Schools must first train the children in the principles of religion . . . but this in such a measure that it may not injure the children by leading to fanaticism and bigotry.'<sup>6</sup>

'Knowledge is like unto wings for the being of man, and is as a ladder for ascending. To acquire knowledge is incumbent upon all, but of those sciences which may profit the people of the earth, and not such sciences as begin merely in words and end in mere words.'<sup>7</sup>

'The kings—may God assist them—or the counsellors of the world, must consult together, and appoint one of the existing languages, or a new language, and instruct the children therein in all the schools of the world, and the same must be done in respect to writing<sup>8</sup> also. In such cases the earth will be as one (or united).'<sup>9</sup>

'It is incumbent on every one of you to engage in some employment, such as arts, trades, and the like. We have made this, your occupation, identical with the worship of God, the True God.'<sup>10</sup>

'Oh people of Baha; ye are daysprings of love, and dawning places of the providence of God. Defile not the tongue with cursing or execrating any one, and guard your eyes against that which is not worthy. . . . Be not the cause of sorrow, much less of sedition and strife. . . . Ye are all leaves of one tree and drops of one sea.'<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From *Some Answered Questions*, by Abdul Baha (publ. Kegan Paul).

<sup>2</sup> From *The Glad Tidings*, B. uh.

<sup>3</sup> From *The Tablet of the World*.

<sup>4</sup> From *The Words of Paradise*, B. uh.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> From *The Tajalliyat*.

<sup>8</sup> i.e. the characters employed must be similar for all languages.

<sup>9</sup> From *The Glad Tidings*, B. uh.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

' Oh friends, it is the wish of Abdul Baha that the Friends may establish general unity. . . . We are all servants of one threshold, waves of one sea, drops of one stream, and plants of one garden. . . . The beloved of God must be friendly even with strangers. Assemblies must be established for certain objects. For example, assemblies for teaching the truth, gatherings for the spreading of the Fragrance of God, gatherings for the relief of orphans and for the protection of the poor, assemblies for the spread of learning, in a word there must be gatherings for matters which concern the well-being of man, such as the organization of a society of commerce, of societies for the development of arts or industries, and societies for the expansion of agriculture. . . . I hope all the Friends from the East and the West will rest in the same assembly and adorn one gathering, and appear with all heavenly attributes and virtues in the world of humanity.'<sup>1</sup>

It would be possible to compile many books of similar sayings from the writings both of Baha u'llah and of his son Abdul Baha ; but I think I have quoted a sufficient number to show the very practical and helpful nature of these works, and also their universal application.

I much wish that some one more competent had been able to describe this great movement, but I can only crave your indulgence for this short account of Bahaism as it now exists.

## 17

## THE STARTING-POINT OF THE RELIGIOUS MESSAGE OF AMOS

By H. W. HOGG. (ABSTRACT)

THE suggestion offered in this paper has a bearing on the whole situation out of which the *נבואת עמוס*, or *logia* of Amos, sprang. It concerns directly, however, quite a small point, viz.—What is the real meaning of the opening sentence of each of the series of oracles constituting the first two chapters of the book in its present form ? The ambiguity lies in what follows the words ' For three transgressions and for four I will ' (viz. *לֹא אֶשְׁכַּח*). The first word (*לֹא*) has commonly been taken negatively (' not '), but may plausibly be taken, as by Professor Haupt, positively (' assuredly '). The second word is still more ambiguous. According as the first, the second, or the third radical is regarded as ' weak ', it may be rendered ' leave in peace ', ' allow to dwell ' (*אֶשְׁכַּח*), ' turn back ' (*אֶשְׁכַּח*), or ' make cap-

<sup>1</sup> From an *Epistle of Abdul Baha, addressed to Believers in Persia, July 4, 1906.*



tive' (נָשָׁב). The remaining ambiguity lies in the third word, the pronoun. What is it that is, or is not, to be turned back? Various answers have been given. The object of this paper is to suggest a new one.

The suggestion arises naturally out of the general situation presupposed by the *λόγια* of Amos. His message is one of threatening: the armies of Assyria will ere long come and overwhelm the land. Whatever be the correct text of Amos iii. 9 ('Ashdod' or 'Asshur'), the book as a whole practically does not name the scourge that is to punish Israel. The most natural explanation is that one of the burning questions of the hour was: What is Assyria going to do? Will it, or will it not, come on southwards? (a) The indications in the book of a popular optimism suggest that the people would refuse to believe that under such a king as Jeroboam, or such a god as Yahwè, they could come to grief. Amos knew better: Assyria had recovered from its illness and gone forth to conquer, and Israel's god would not intervene, for in Israel there was no soundness. When, therefore, the people said: Can it be that the Assyrian will come on and overwhelm us? Amos's answer is clear and decided: Yes, he will: 'For triple, nay, quadruple, iniquity' (conceived by Amos as practical revolt, *שִׁשְׁתָּה*), says Yahwè, 'I will not turn him back.' (b) Any more thoughtful persons who might not share the popular optimism would be perplexed to understand how their god seemed to be going to let them go down before this awful world-conquering power. To such the answer of Amos was: Yes, our god is not turning the Assyrian back, because of our triple, nay, quadruple, rebellious iniquity.

The naturalness of the translation suggested appears from the recurrence of the verb in this sense in the Sennacherib narratives: 2 Kings xix. 7, 'Behold,' says Yahwè, ['I shall constrain him] and he will turn back to his own land'; and, in the Song of Derision in the other account, 2 Kings xix. 28, 'I shall turn thee back by the way by which thou camest.'

The following objections may be urged: (1) The suggestion implies a date later by several years than most scholars think probable. It has always seemed unnatural, however, to hold that Amos came forward with his message, in the form in which he gave it, at the time when Assyria was at its very weakest. (2) The suggestion makes Amos attribute to Yahwè power over the Assyrian. What Amos says, however, is that Yahwè will *not* interfere; and in any case, in Pognon's recently published Aramaic inscription from North Syria, Baal-shamain actually helped Zakir of Hamath and La'ash. (3) The suggestion seems to imply the present order of parts in Amos. In fact, however, it does not. There was probably a real connexion

between Amos's perception of the Assyrian danger and his attack on the life of his time; but the oracles introduced by the formula under consideration need not stand first. (4) It may be urged that, even if it be admitted that Amos's hearers were well aware of the Assyrian danger, it is awkward to suppose that Amos referred to the enemy simply as 'him'. We do not know, however, what may have preceded the passage; and, in any case, is there any other rendering that is more satisfactory? The most attractive of those put forward is: I will assuredly punish him—that is, Israel, or Damascus, or whatever the state named in the clause (so Haupt, *Orient. Lit.-Zeit.*, June, 1907, col. 306 f.; W. Staerk, *Ausgewählte Poetische Texte*, Heft 2, 1908). That is the most obvious interpretation of the pronoun, and the rendering 'punish' for the verb seems, in the light of Haupt's remarks, possible; but 'turn back' is certainly more obvious. The suggestion offered in the paper, therefore, merits consideration.

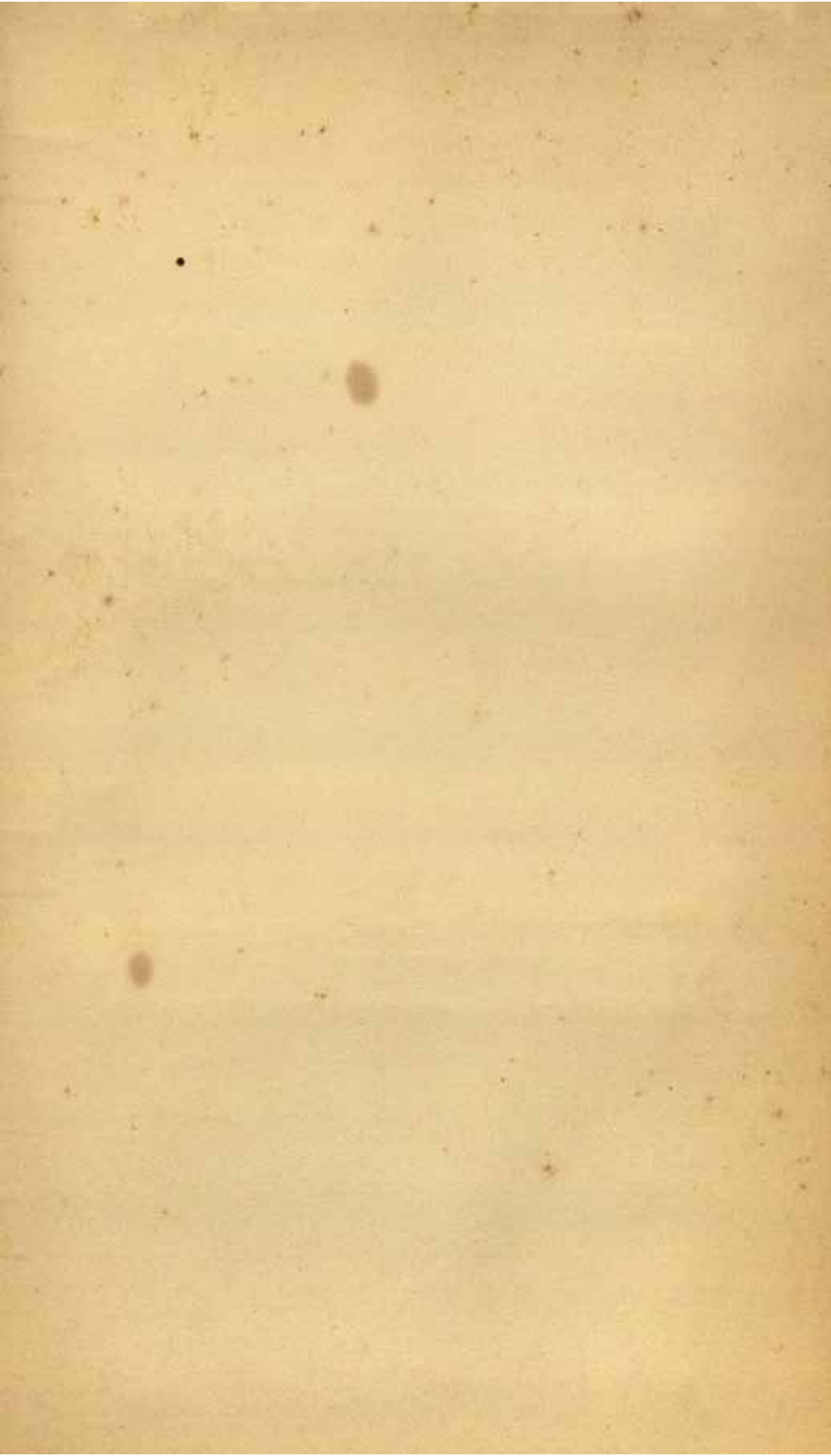


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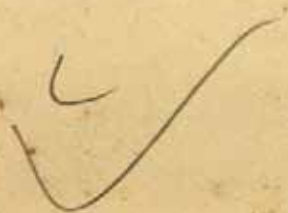
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